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Shevardnadze To Attend Chemical Weapons Meeting
LD0301164489 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will head a Soviet delegation at an international conference on reinforcing the Geneva protocol prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, opening in Paris on January 7, Sergey Batsanov, deputy head of the Department on Arms Limitation and Disarmament of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, told a TASS diplomatic correspondent today.

The Soviet side expects from the forthcoming conference above all a new impetus to the efforts to eliminate chemical weapons, Batsanov said. According to his figures, delegations from 160 states will attend the Paris conference.

"Decisions by the Paris forum are meant to confirm an international consensus in favour of chemical disarmament, expedite the conclusions of the work on a draft convention on the elimination of chemical weapons. Statements by the participating states in the Paris conference on their intention to become parties to the future convention could have a positive role to play", the Soviet diplomat noted

"The Soviet Union has always denounced and will continue to denounce any violation of the Geneva protocol by whoever it may be. The USSR did not use chemical weapons, did not place them into someone else's hands, and did not deploy them outside its national territory. Moreover, the Soviet Union halted the production of chemical weapons. We call upon other countries for similar restraint", Batsanov went on.

The Geneva protocol of 1925 banned the use of asphyxiating, chemical and other such gases and bacteriological means in war. Over a hundred states are parties to the protocol. The USSR joined it back in 1928, the United States—only in 1975.

Army Paper Reinterprets Military Parity
PM0401102089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by lecturer Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Colonel V. Strebkov under the rubric "From the Standpoint of the New Thinking": "Military Parity Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] As the world public's response to M.S. Gorbachev's program speech at the United Nations shows, the new political thinking that is being actively developed by the Soviet Union is winning more and more supporters. There is wide support for such features as the demand to preserve civilization from nuclear annihilation, respect for the peoples' right to a free choice of their own destiny, the recognition of the impossibility of a military solution to interstate disputes and the importance of seeking a balance of interests, and the need for cooperation between all peoples and states, regardless of their sociopolitical system, to resolve mankind's global problems.

Even this brief enumeration shows that the new thinking is increasingly ruling out a policy aimed at achieving military superiority and excluding the desire for diktat by force. That is why we have reason to assert that the implementation of the idea of the new thinking is, objectively, closely connected with the maintaining of military-strategic parity (equilibrium) between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Why? Because this parity is the opposite of military superiority. Today, with common human values coming to the fore in the development of civilized relations between peoples, a substantial part of the balance of interests of the sides lies in actual parity, because one's attitude to one's partner is a reflection of one's attitude to oneself. And the sides' capacity for finding a balance of interests is a condition of mankind's survival and progress.

These circumstances have focused attention on the problem of military parity both in the Soviet Union and in the West. Different and sometimes even opposing views are expressed. A large proportion of scientists and political and military leaders acknowledge the historical role of parity in ensuring international security. But the opinion also exists (among some Soviet scientists, as well as others) that the attainment of parity by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact with the United States and NATO was probably a mistake on our part.

I would like to put forward here my own view of this problem. It is well known that the idea of creating a comprehensive system of international security, put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress, covers various spheres: military, political, economic, and humanitarian. By virtue of the fact that each of them is more or less autonomous, in a given historical situation one or another factor may come to the fore. Nonetheless all aspects of international security should be considered as a whole, in their interrelationships.

Military-strategic parity was achieved between the USSR and the United States in the seventies. The Soviet Union was forced to do this by the aggressive imperialist policy in the postwar period. By unleashing an unrestrained arms race, imperialism created an extraordinary situation around us and our allies. The military threat was ever present for us.

Could the Soviet Union and its allies have failed to respond to this? Of course not. We needed strategic parity in order to secure our interests and those of our friends. And we secured it. "But, in concentrating enormous resources and attention on the military aspect of opposition to imperialism," it was noted at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, "we did not always make use of the political opportunities that opened up, as a result of fundamental changes in the world, to ensure the

state's security, lessen tension, and promote mutual understanding between peoples. As a result we allowed ourselves to be dragged into the arms race, which could not but affect the country's socioeconomic development and its international situation."

The leveling out of the correlation of military forces between the USSR and the United States had far-reaching consequences. The American leadership embarked on the path of talks with the USSR on balancing the level of the two countries' nuclear missile arms. In my view Washington would not have started talking to us on equal terms were it not for that historic achievement of ours. Western assessments confirm this. "Washington's recognition of the USSR as a great power equal to the United States," H. Sonnenfeldt, a figure in the Nixon administration, noted, "came only after it had demonstrated its ability to take its place by force."

But something else is also true. The balance was disrupted in the system of factors that form the basis of our security. Political means, which have enormous potential—we see this clearly today—have not been fully realized. Equilibrium is maintained mainly through military aspects of security.

In economic, scientific, and technical spheres we do not have parity with imperialism. In the mid-seventies we began to lag behind the United States in the rate of growth of gross national product, and in recent years in the rate of growth of labor productivity as well. According to assessments by some of our economists, in terms of the population's living standard the Soviet Union is among the states ranking between 50th and 60th in the world. This is not appropriate to our potential and our needs either materially or spiritually.

In order to resolve the situation that had arisen, a change of emphasis was certainly needed. This is our creed: Political problems should be resolved solely by political means. And in giving them priority, we should substantially lower the level of military confrontation. And here it is not only we who should act, but also the United States and NATO, which unfortunately have not yet renounced the "strategy of deterrence" and "modernization" programs.

And another factor. A lowering of the level of our purely military potential should be accompanied by a corresponding growth in the country's economic, scientific, and technical potential. The systematic approach to our security requires this.

Thus military-strategic parity is an objective necessity, not a historical error. Consequently the important thing is not for us to abandon it and for it to disappear. What is important is this: How should we understand parity today?

In the literature on this problem, the quantitative interpretation of parity predominates (comparing the number of warheads, delivery vehicles, tanks, ships, and so forth). Where did the absolutization of the quantitative aspect of parity lead? It led to a situation where we often attached excessive significance to one particular means of armed struggle that had appeared in the West. As if that system would suddenly disrupt the measure of the reasonable in the correlation of forces between socialism and imperialism. And people did not always stop to wonder where that measure lay.

Defining parity in terms of the number of military-technical systems prompted an increase in the arms race and led to a level of confrontation where the might of the nuclear missile systems of the United States and the USSR alone is capable of destroying all life on earth more than once. But that is crazy!

It is not a question of the quantitative approach, but of the qualitative approach to military equilibrium. This means that we must move away from evaluating the correlation of forces by the number of warheads, delivery vehicles, tanks, ships, and so forth toward evaluating the combat potential of the opposing sides' military-technical systems. This approach to military parity requires, first, that parity be regarded as a correlation of the sides' strategic potential that offers the opportunity to inflict unacceptable damage on the aggressor in a retaliatory strike. According to experts' calculations, the unacceptability percentage is assessed as the loss of 60-70 percent of industry and about 30 percent of the population. (Naturally, these hypothetical figures are purely conditional, because this takes no account of political, social, moral, and psychological aspects.) Today such damage could be inflicted by less than 10 percent of each side's strategic warheads. In effect, mountains of surplus weapons rise above the so-called "reasonable measure."

Second, the qualitative approach enables us to see parity as closely linked with reasonable sufficiency for defense. The concept of "reasonable sufficiency" enables us to overcome the narrow, one-sided (quantitative) interpretation of parity. Military equilibrium has a comparatively wide dynamic range. This is indicated by the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its Armed Forces unilaterally in the next 2 years by 500,000 men, as well as many thousands of tanks and guns and hundreds of aircraft.

At the same time parity is a two-sided equation, and the measure of reasonable sufficiency is defined not only by us, but also by the other side's actions and its degree of awareness of common human interests.

And, third and last, the qualitative approach to parity requires the creation of an integral system of strategic stability on the basis of military equilibrium.

In essence strategic stability means not only unwillingness to, but the impossibility of unleashing military conflict given a specific historical correlation of forces between the sides. As parity falls to lower and lower levels, on the basis of the balance of interests and reasonable sufficiency for defense, there will be a corresponding increase in steadiness and stability in relations between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO as a whole. The policy of strength will give way to political and legal means of settling the problems that arise.

This is a complex process. But the high assessment throughout the world of the ideas and proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations is encouraging. Parity should not be synonymous with superarming. Parity is historically necessary, but in light of the new political thinking it should be set at the lowest acceptable level.

Further on Genscher Remarks on Force Cuts

PM0301115989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent Ye. Grishin: "H.-D. Genscher: We Are Faced With Historic Tasks"]

[Text] Bonn—"I believe that the process of disarmament and development of East-West relations has now reached the dynamic level at which we can view the future with confidence. This was distinctly evident in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations," H.-D. Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister, said in an interview on Hesse radio.

In his speech the Soviet leader announced significant unilateral steps in the disarmament sphere. This is important. But his speech has deeper significance and meaning, the minister continued, since it laid the foundation for a new orientation of Soviet foreign policy and security. This is made clear by M.S. Gorbachev's words that in the light of current realities genuine progress cannot be made either by infringing human and peoples' rights and freedoms, or at the expense of nature. The clear conclusion from this is that all of us on this earth have become a survival community.

M.S. Gorbachev's proposals provide a historic opportunity to embark on the path of fundamentally improving East-West relations and building the all-European home, whose outlines were drawn by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. At the moment, in H.-D. Genscher's view, three lines of historic dimension are currently developing on the European Continent. The first is the desire of the 12 EEC Countries to create a "single internal market." The second is the policy of restructuring and reforms in the Soviet Union and some other socialist states. The third is the process of rapprochement between East and West. "The most surprising thing is that these three lines are developing simultaneously, bringing the peoples of Europe closer together. A process of European self-determination is taking place, together with a quest for ways of living together. It is a highly impressive development," the minister said.

Concerning the question of formulating a common Western strategy in the security sphere, H.-D. Genscher stressed that it is primarily a concept of disarmament and arms control, rather than armaments. As he put it, unity has been reached that the concept will incorporate a measure on the universal destruction of chemical weapons and on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments, and far-reaching proposals on disarmament in the conventional arms sphere. The only thing lacking at the moment is a mandate for talks on short-range nuclear missiles. But there is every reason to hope that this question will also be resolved positively.

We are faced with historic tasks, H.-D. Genscher stressed. It is necessary to erect a secure wall against mankind's self-destruction through the arms race and the destruction of the environment. "We are responsible not only for the present generation, but for future generations too. Mankind will face destruction unless we accomplish these tasks. Everyone involved in the decision-making process must remember this and be fully aware of the extent of his responsibility," the FRG foreign minister said in conclusion.

Genscher Interviewed on East-West Disarmament

LD0101193489 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn January 1 TASS—Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West German foreign minister, has criticized allegations to the effect that the present policy pursued by the Soviet Union jeopardizes the cohesion and defense potential of the West. In an interview published in the Cologne-based newspaper EXPRESS on Saturday he pointed out that the West would make a mistake if it continued to cultivate the 'enemy image' with regard to the USSR. If some politicians believe that the present Soviet Union ready for disarmament poses a greater threat than before, when the threat was created, among other things, by Soviet medium- and shorter-range missiles, it shows their narrow-mindedness, Genscher added.

FRG Officials Cited

LD0101122889 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn January 1 TASS—What are the distinctive traits of 1988 and what do you expect from the New Year? This question was put to several prominent political leaders of the FRG by the newspaper "WELT AM SONNTAG".

The past twelve months, it was stated by Richard von Weizsacker, president of the Federal Republic of Germany, were marked by a positive development of East-West relations. The leaders of the USSR and the United

States had two meetings which helped to improve relations between the great powers. Very important was the visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the Soviet Union. The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will pay a visit to the FRG in the coming year. Confrontation is increasingly yielding ground to cooperation, Weizsacker stressed.

The New Year opens up promising prospects for a more fruitful dialogue between the East and the West, it is believed by the FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The Soviet Union's unilateral steps to reduce armories, which Mikhail Gorbachev announced in his U.N. speech, give us a chance to add a new chapter to the history of disarmament. Attention should be concentrated today on the solution of the main problem of European security—equilibrium at a low level in the sphere of conventional armaments. The head of the Bonn diplomatic establishment went on record for a 50-per cent reduction of Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons, for the elimination of obstacles to a universal and complete destruction of chemical weapons.

1988 was marked by progress in disarmament, it is believed by Rita Suesmuth, chairman of the Bundestag. She holds that improving East-West relations have ushered in a new phase of world politics. She expressed the hope that the new year would see further progress in the relaxation of tensions and disarmament in Europe.

Perfilyev Holds 3 Jan Foreign Ministry Briefing

Notes Vorontsov Afghan Talks

LD0301131389 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—"Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan, continues meetings called upon to promote a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here on Tuesday.

Yuliy Vorontsov, by a mutual understanding with the Iranian side, visited Tehran where he had talks at the Iranian Foreign Ministry and met representatives of the Afghan opposition at their request.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman also said that Yuliy Vorontsov will soon fly to Islamabad for a meeting with representatives of the Pakistani leadership.

Discusses Afghan Proposals

LD0301184489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] A briefing on current problems of international politics took place in the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry today. Addressing Soviet and foreign journalists, Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, stressed that the first days of this year have been marked by important initiatives and practical actions by the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union aimed at stopping the bloodshed on Afghan soil and solving the Afghan problem through political means. Further on, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] The Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have announced, on a unilateral basis, a cease-fire by government troops and all subunits of Soviet troops in Afghanistan as of 1 January 1989. The leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan has proposed to the armed opposition that they follow this example. In the Foreign Ministry statement, alongside support for this initiative from the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet side confirmed again to the U.S. side its readiness to cease all arms supplies to the warring parties in Afghanistan on the basis of reciprocity, as of 1 January. As you know, this was one of the initiatives on issues of an Afghan settlement announced by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in his speech at the UN General Assembly.

The above-mentioned step by the Soviet and Afghan leadership opens up a unique opportunity to achieve a decisive breakthrough in ensuring the most favorable atmosphere for the earliest possible attainment of a just and comprehensive Afghan settlement. The specific initiatives put forward recently by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Najibullah have been materialized in it. [end recording]

Comments on Pan Am Crash

LD0301151889 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—"The crash of the Boeing 747 jetliner owned by the Pan American company over Scotland, which claimed numerous human lives, filled with sorrow the hearts of Soviet people," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here on Tuesday. This profound feeling of compassion is expressed in the messages by Mikhail Gorbachev to the U.S. and British leaders.

It is being established by the official investigation, said the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, that the tragic event was caused by a bomb explosion aboard the airliner. "The perpetrators of this crime should be punished to prevent the repetition of this tragedy. This is necessitated by norms of morality and law, in part those concerned with combatting illegal acts aimed against safety of civil aviation. This is necessitated by the memory of the deceased and the interests of the great human family to which all of us belong."

"We express the hope," Vadim Perfilyev went on to say, "that the international interaction which has emerged now, will help track down the perpetrators of the crime. This tragedy should help the world to come to an understanding of a dire necessity of pooling efforts in the struggle against international terrorism."

"Guided by its policy of principle, the Soviet Union will promote in every way international cooperation in these questions and will do its utmost to pool efforts of states and peoples for eliminating terrorism from the practice of human relations," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out.

Notes Israeli Deportations

LD0301152389 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Tel Aviv marked the New Year by deporting another 13 Palestinians from Israeli-occupied territories, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today. Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told reporters that the methods used by Israeli authorities cannot solve the problem of peace and security in the Middle East.

He added that force cannot solve the problem of Israel's security, either.

"Tel Aviv's coercive measures with regard to Palestinians not only run counter to international law, they look just absurd," Perfilyev said.

"Today when the Palestine Liberation Organisation is handing an olive branch to the people of Israel, rejecting it means trying to ignore obvious realities and act in defiance of positive trends to peace and Arab-Israeli settlement, which shaped up last year," the spokesman said.

Views Panamanian Trade Agreement

LD0301193489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1411 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jan (TASS)—Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said here today at a briefing that the ratification by the Panamanian Legislative Assembly of the 1979 trade agreement with the Soviet Union has been received with satisfaction in the USSR.

He said the Panamanian parliament's decision marks a new and natural state in the development of bilateral cooperation. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative stressed: "Putting bilateral trade relations on a treaty basis creates broader prospects for their actualization and strength. As a whole, the agreement will also have a favorable effect on the nature, level, and volume of Soviet-Panamanian contacts in other areas."

Supports South Asian Conference

LD0301134389 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—The Soviet Union positively assesses the results of the conference of heads of state and government of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation [SAARC] which ended on New Year's Eve in Islamabad, said Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Speaking at a news briefing here on Tuesday, he said the Soviet Union was ready for interaction with all members of the association in ensuring security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, developing all-round relations with them. The obligations undetaken by SAARC to keep nuclear weapons out of South Asia, the Soviet spokesman stressed, help promote disarmament and prevent it from proliferating in the world.

Draft Final Document Submitted at CSCE Talks

LD0301192089 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1327 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Vienna, 3 Jan (TASS)—Neutral and nonaligned countries have submitted at the Vienna CSCE meeting an elaborated draft of the final document which states agreed accords in the military-political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres. [passage omitted] In his address at a plenary session Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation, appreciated the document submitted by neutral countries as a constructive step and called upon all the meeting's participants to conclude a forum at the level of ministers of foreign affairs as soon as possible.

Bogachev Reviews Year's Political Events

LD3112134988 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 31 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The history of international relations of the past decades was rich in dramatic events which now revived peoples' hopes for strengthening peace and tranquility on our globe, now sparked their dissatisfaction. 1988 was no exception. However, one can say without exaggeration that the outgoing year was a truly watershed one: There have been by far more hopeful changes in the world than discouraging relapses of the period of confrontation.

This year has witnessed the beginning of the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. For the first time ever weapons were eliminated not because they became obsolete but because they pose too great a threat to peoples' lives. Approximately 700 Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles were liquidated. Peoples's faith that a non-nuclear world is not just a rosy dream but an attainable goal has been forged.

The entire climate of international relations has markedly changed for the better. The outcome of the Soviet-American summit meetings in Moscow and New York has shown afresh to the whole world that problems arising between separate countries can be solved only by political means in our age, that attempts to introduce power methods in international relations conflict with conditions and realities which have shaped up at the threshold of the 21st century.

The outgoing year was marked by an appreciable boost of the United Nations' role as a unique instrument of world politics, which is of immense importance to shaping a peaceful period in the development of civilization. News analysts across the world underscore the Soviet Union's role in enhancing the prestige of this international organisation.

The speech of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the U.N. General Assembly session, who announced the decision to reduce unilaterally the strength of the USSR's Armed Forces by 500,000 men, drastically cut the number of tanks, artillery pieces, and combat aircraft was an apotheosis of the international events of the outgoing year. This act of good will by the Soviet Union generated a wave of optimism across the world, opened up new prospects for a solution to the problems of arresting the arms race on earth and preventing its spread into space.

Certainly, genuine progress at arms control negotiations can be attained only in case the United States and the NATO countries display readiness to respond with good will to the USSR's peace initiatives.

Meanwhile, the world has not become as stable as peoples wish to see it. Mutual mistrust and suspicion in East-West relations have not been completely dispelled.

Ultra-conservatives in the West take frenzied efforts to revert the world to the path of military confrontation. Pakistan and the United States continue to brazenly violate the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, kindling the fratricidal war in that country. In Washington they have not abandoned hopes for realizing space militarization plans.

And still, prospects for a successful advancement to mankind's cherished goal—a world without wars and weapons—are hopeful as never before ahead of the new year of 1989. The Soviet people will not spare effort to attain the lofty objective.

Levin Sees Optimism in New Year Messages

LD0201183789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] Foreign news agencies are transmitting the New Year messages from leaders of various countries. As usual they sum up the chief results of last year and express opinions about what to expect in the coming year. I am asking my colleague Viktor Levin to tell us the main characteristics of these evaluations and forecasts.

[Levin] Probably the most attention was attracted in the world press by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's New Year message to the American people and that of Ronald Reagan to the USSR. The leaders regularly address their own peoples, but such exchanges of greetings have not as yet become usual practice, so there is particular interest in them. What is being singled out from these addresses? They note the Soviet leader's words about the past year as having been rich in events of great significance, and about changes for the better in the world that are very important for all us. This concerns the development of relations between the USSR and the United States and many international problems. Attention was drawn in Ronald Reagan's address by his confidence that relations between our two countries will continue to follow the same positive course that they held to throughout last year. In light of the changing of the guard in the White House—George Bush will assume the duties of president on 20 January—Ronald Reagan's confidence in the continuity of the political course acquires particular significance.

Neither we nor the Americans close our eyes to the fact that quite a few problems in our relations remain. But the tendencies of positive development last year gained weighty and convincing confirmation. The leaders of other countries draw attention to these facts. Thus, many are gratified to emphasize the commencement of the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It has been calculated that in quite a short time span—about 6 months—800 Soviet and U.S. missiles were destroyed. At the same time, while noting the importance of the INF Treaty, wishes are expressed in many countries for the process of nuclear disarmament to proceed more intensively, and for a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons to be signed as early as this year.

When the talk is of wishes, much attention is also devoted to the tasks of reducing conventional weapons. The USSR's extremely important initiative, which has been expressed in the decision to cut its armed forces by 500,000 men unilaterally over 2 years, has been received in many countries as a weighty and convincing contribution by our country to the cause of disarmament.

The statements by leaders of states, even on such traditional occasions as the beginning of a new year, reflect their political course. The fact that today it is hopes for a better future which predominate goes to show that grounds for optimism are gaining strength. Of course, the solutions to complicated problems and the unraveling of other knots will not come about of their own accord, but if every country concentrates its attention on this, the hopes for success will be justified.

Zhukov Reviews Past Year, Looks Forward

PM0301124189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Yuriy Zhukov "International Review": "New Thinking and the Modern World"]

[Text] The year ending today has sped past the eyes of mankind. It was so crammed with events—sometimes joyous and inspiring hope, sometimes sorrowful and somber—that even the most experienced journalists sometimes failed to describe and interpret them clearly.

Our world lived according to its mysterious laws, of which man is often totally ignorant: Vast expanses of the United States were in the grip of a drought; Bangladesh was hit by terrible flooding, which took thousands of lives and completely ravaged that already poor country; a dangerous hole suddenly formed in the protective ozone layer covering the earth. Many volcanoes woke from their sleep. From time to time the land would shudder, and in a single instant its most terrible convulsion in Armenia on 7 December wiped out tens of thousands of people and left half a million without a roof over their heads.

At times it seemed as if the planet itself was, as it were, reminding the more than 5 billion people who live on it and who have still not renounced mutual suspicions and arguments, mutual hostility, or the arms race: Stop!

Think how fragile your civilization is in our time, when truly hellish means of destruction have been invented and stockpiled—for, if they are used, natural disasters will pale beside the one that you yourselves are preparing for your own perdition...!

And yet, and yet... If we thoughtfully analyze everything we have witnessed while observing the development of political life in the world in 1988, it is possible to state with confidence that the atmosphere in interstate relations has begun changing for the better. Understanding of the obvious fact that we live in an interconnected and interdependent world and that we all, in the end, have a common destiny is gradually taking root in people's minds. The thought that now, on the threshold of the 21st century, the struggle for mankind's survival is the No 1 task has gained wide popularity. Thanks to the growing coordination of actions among governments and peoples, the threat of war is receding.

All this is a result of the impact of the new thinking which has come into being in the USSR and which is gradually spreading throughout the planet, although not as quickly as we would like. Let us look back over the 12 months we have lived through and think about what we have experienced during this time.

Two years ago the Paris magazine LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR wrote with alarm in its New Year issue: "We are witnessing 14 wars—full-scale or partisan wars—and a further 13 situations fraught with the risk of an explosion. Thus, in total there are now 27 countries or parts of the world that are victims of conflicts today." To this one could have added that the arms race was still continuing, the talks on ending it were proceeding creakingly, and mistrust and fear still gripped many people's souls.

But even then sober-minded people had hopes of better things: Only just over 1 month prior to that new year the leaders of our planet's two great powers had met in Geneva, and after complex and difficult talks they proclaimed to the whole world: **"Having discussed key security questions, the sides, conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the United States in the cause of preserving peace, declare that nuclear war must never be unleashed and can have no victors. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the United States could have disastrous consequences, they also emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them—nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority."**

This was the starting point for the long and complex process of negotiations at all levels which began after that and into which many other states were gradually drawn after the USSR and the United States. Quite a few difficulties and many omissions and delays have arisen in the course of this process, and yet many real results have already been achieved and evaluated at their true worth by the whole world.

Let us recall! The long-awaited Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, ratified this year, is successfully being fulfilled—hundreds of these monsters, each of which could wipe an entire city off the face of the earth, have already been destroyed. A rough draft has been prepared of a treaty to reduce by half the strategic arms of the USSR and the United States. The start of the long-awaited talks on reducing the armed forces and armamentss of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is already close at hand.

Protracted local conflicts are being extinguished one after another. There is a cease-fire in the protracted Iran-Iraq war. The very difficult problem of Afghanistan, from where our soldiers are at last returning, is being resolved. The tight knot in southwest Africa has been untied as the result of a political settlement—RSA aggression against Angola has been ended, and Namibia is at last gaining independence. A political settlement of the problem of Cambodia has begun. Prospects for the establishment of peace in the Western Sahara have become apparent. A way has been opened up to resolve the agonizing problem of Palestine—even the United States has begun talks with the PLO, despite Israeli protests. And all this in the space of just 1 year!

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference authoritatively confirmed the priority task in the sphere of international relations: **to ensure by political means peaceful conditions conducive in every respect to the implementation of transformations within the country.** These are the main areas of this policy: democratization, demilitarization, and the humanization of international relations; the ever increasing transfer of methods to ensure security from the sphere of military-political solutions to the sphere of political cooperation; the utilization of the scientific and technical potential accumulated by mankind for the joint resolution of global problems; the development of diverse and equitable communication among states and peoples.

It may be stated with good reason that these basic ideas are meeting with ever greater understanding and support throughout the world. The image of the enemy in the form of the USSR, which has been created over decades in the West, is collapsing. It was no coincidence that U.S. President Reagan said during his memorable visit to Moscow last summer, while chatting with Soviet people in Red Square, that he no longer considers our country "the evil empire."

Nor is it a coincidence that, despite the continuing campaign by opponents of cooperation with socialist countries, 1988 was marked by a truly rapid development of East-West ties in all spheres—economic, scientific, humanitarian, and political.

I will remind you in this connection that, in addition to the U.S. leaders, the heads of state and government and foreign ministers of France, the FRG, Britain, Italy, Austria, Finland, Brazil, Uruguay, India, Indonesia,

Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan, Angola, and a whole number of other states visited Moscow this year and held important talks. All these meetings were of a constructive, purposeful nature.

Of course, all this did not come about of its own accord—it would be fair to point out that the increasing spread of the new thinking in the world is to a tremendous degree the result of the galvanization of the foreign policy activity of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries in all areas.

M.S. Gorbachev's visits to Yugoslavia, Poland, and India, the conference of the Warsaw Pact countries' Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw, the regular meetings of these countries' foreign and defense ministers, the fruitful talks between Soviet and Chinese diplomats on the threshold of a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting—these are just some examples of the vigorous creative activity of socialist diplomacy, which mounted a broad peace offensive in all areas in 1988.

The development of Soviet-U.S. relations remains one of the most important parts of Soviet foreign policy. Today relations between the USSR and the United States are at an extremely crucial stage, when the task is arising of ensuring the irreversibility of the positive changes which have now become apparent in these relations, particularly at the time of the new internal political cycle in Washington connected with the changeover of administration.

Hence the very great importance of the 7 December Soviet-U.S. meeting, in which two presidents participated on the U.S. side—the present one and the one who assumes office in January. It was an informal but very productive meeting. As M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, it showed that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue is developing on the basis of constructive continuity, and R. Reagan and G. Bush confirmed this.

But the range of our concerns with regard to consolidating peace is certainly not confined to the further improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations. The initiatives aimed at building an "all-European home" acquired broad scope in 1988. This was singled out as the priority theme in numerous conversations between the Soviet head of state and the leaders of West European countries, their ministers, statesmen, and public figures. The accord at last reached this year on the normalizations of relations between the socialist countries' CEMA and the EEC will promote the development of all-European business cooperation.

The development of peaceful cooperation is beginning in the vast Asia-Pacific zone, where the Soviet initiatives advanced in Vladivostok 2 years ago did not meet with a proper response for a long time. The new ideas proclaimed by the Soviet leader in his well-known speech in Krasnoyarsk 16 September this year have provided a boost which, in an international situation which has changed for the better, is capable of producing weighty results. M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to India, the subsequent Indian-Chinese summit meeting, and USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's fruitful trip to Japan, the Philippines, and the DPRK inspire hopes of this.

Tremendous potential has become apparent in the restructuring of international relations on new principles in the broad Nonaligned Movement, which is now acquiring new qualities—this was shown, in particular, by the September conference of foreign ministers of this movement's member countries in Nicosia. The movement's members are seeking to make an active contribution to resolving major problems of the present day, playing an independent role in the world arena. They have a growing interest in questions of disarmament. The conference supported the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and set up a special committee to promote the settling of the Cambodian problem. Concern for the movement's unity is strengthening.

In 1988 new prospects opened up before the major international organizations and, above all, before the United Nations, whose role in organizing the world on new principles is increasing rapidly.

This was expressively mentioned in M.S. Gorbachev's 7 December speech from the UN General Assembly session platform, which was an event for the entire world community. It is no coincidence that commentaries on it have not left the newspaper pages for 3 weeks now—an interesting discussion has developed around it everywhere.

What is the irresistible force of the ideas advanced by the Soviet Union? It is the fact that they not only contain the theoretical elaboration of a program of struggle for mankind's survival, but also outline practical ways to resolve this task. Principles of new international relations have been formulated. Ways and means of resolving urgent global problems have been proposed. The adherence of the Land of the Soviets to the priority nature of values common to all mankind, to freedom of choice and to the internationalization of talks on the main problems of the present day, has been confirmed. Moreover, it has been announced that the USSR, following the start of the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, has decided to make a unilateral large-scale reduction of its armed forces and arms.

All this is forcing the West and its military organization—NATO—to begin a countermovement and undertake a search for their own alternative initiatives. On the other hand, the USSR's new undertaking is imparting strength and confidence to those circles in the West which can see that the Soviet ideas open up a real opportunity to switch means and resources from preparing for a confrontation of a military nature to developing constructive global economic development....

Yes, it has been a most interesting year, when, as the British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT put it 21 December, "ideas have shown that they possess greater force than missiles" and "when the 'Soviet threat' has ceased to be considered a threat."

But it would be dangerous and, what is more, harmful to give in to euphoria and think that everything will continue without a hitch, as it were. It cannot fail to be seen that the West's influential reactionary circles, caught unawares by the Soviet Union's far-reaching proposals and decisions, are now coming to and feverishly seeking any opportunity to limit the beneficial impact of these proposals and decisions on the development of world politics.

Opposition to improved relations with the USSR and other socialist countries takes various forms—ranging from claims that the "cold war" is continuing and is inevitable, to recommendations to the new U.S. Administration to use the USSR's absorption with concerns about restructuring its economy in order to "crush" it.

Sowers of skepticism and suspicion will not give in easily. Consequently, we are faced with continuing and stepping up the struggle to realize the constructive ideas advanced by the USSR at the UN General Assembly session. The chief thing now is not to allow a pause in the efforts to end the arms race and consistently normalize international relations.

I do not think I will be mistaken if I say that 1989 will be a year of a further peace offensive, which will be conducted over a broad front under the banner of the new political thinking.

Chechen-Ingush Branch of Rodina Society Formed
LD0101110189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Warm words addressed to fellow countrymen living outside our country have marked the inauguration of a Chechen-Ingush branch of the Soviet Rodina Society for cultural links with our countrymen abroad. As long ago as the last century, tens of thousands of Chechens and Ingushi people, persecuted by the brutal tsarist colonial policy in the Caucasus, left their ethnic homeland. Many settled in the countries of the Near East and Asia.

The democratization and humanism of Soviet society, revived by restructuring and the policy of new thinking in international affairs, have provided a powerful stimulus to their spiritual links with the land of their forefathers. The opening of the branch is designed to strengthen and develop these links.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Replies to U.S. New Year's Greetings

LD0301224389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent a message in reply to the authors of the New Year's greeting card and to all the American citizens who signed it. The Soviet leader expressed gratitude for this initiative, which has been a new manifestation of the growing trust and mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries, and on his own behalf wished Americans prosperity and peace in the new year.

KGB Chief Receives U.S. Ambassador Matlock

LD0401081689 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Vladimir Kryuchkov, head of the USSR State Security Committee, received on January 3 Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at his request.

They had a detailed conversation.

U.S. To Participate in Human Rights Conference

LD0401092689 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 4 TASS—President Reagan has decided on U.S. participation in an international human rights conference which is to be held in Moscow in 1991, THE WASHINGTON POST reported today with reference to official spokesmen for the administration.

The newspaper points out that the decision was taken on recommendation from Secretary of State George Shultz.

It is also reported that consultations on every step in the process were held with President-elect George Bush and that he fully supported Reagan's decision.

THE WASHINGTON POST points out that the opinion of the administration spokesman is that the U.S. President's consent to the holding of a human rights conference in Moscow removes the last major obstacle to the start of a new round of arms control talks between East and West.

U.S. Strike Plans Against Libya, Syria Outlined

LD0301181789 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

Washington plans unlawful actions against two sovereign Arab countries, a military strike at Libya and retaliation on Syria, and is whipping up a campaign to justify these actions. Washington expresses "concern" over Libya's ability to manufacture components of chemical weapons and alleges that Syria is involved in the explosion of a U.S. airliner by "Palestinian terrorists" who, Washington claims, are basing on Syrian territory. The London "STAR" writes that Pentagon experts are working out plans of a raid on Syria, similar to the U.S. raid on Libya in 1986.

According to the latest reports the plan of these actions is being completed. A correspondent of the U.S. television network CBS at the Pentagon noted, specifically, that wind direction and velocity is calculated so that if a raid is made on Libya, vapours should not spread toward populated districts. He said that the most probable way of dealing the strike is the launch of cruise missiles from a submarine off the Libyan coast.

The cynical mention of such details makes one shudder. But Washington's stand with regard to the observance of basic international law is still more shocking. The Libyan leadership proposed to Washington an inspection of a pharmaceutical factory which, the U.S. Administration believes, is engaged in manufacture of chemical weapons, so that Washington's concern be eased. But the USA rejected this reasonable proposal and sent instead an armada of 18 naval ships including the Theodore Roosevelt aircraft carrier into the Mediterranean.

As to Washington's intentions to deal "retaliatory strikes" at those whom Washington suspects of staging the explosion of the American airliner, these intentions have not been supported even by the United States' closest allies. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said in an interview to ITV network that the most important thing now is to ensure cooperation of all countries so that the culprits be found and handed over to justice. The leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on his part, offered assistance to the United States in the investigation of the circumstances of the act of sabotage against the U.S. airliner.

But they in Washington have no wish to recourse to the generally accepted ways of dealing with such matters and continue to rely on "club law." In this connection the question arises whether they in Washington are going to return to the policy of state terrorism and to undermine the tendency to detente which is gaining momentum.

U.S. 'Threats' Against Libya 'Mar' New Year

LD0301164389 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Tripoli January 3 TASS—Libyans celebrated the new year despite the alarming situation that surrounded the Libyan Jamahiriya. The hopes with which all people

on earth link the arrival of the new year were marred for the Libyans by U.S. administration threats to unleash further aggression against this Arab country.

The concern of Libyan people is well understood—the events of 1986 are still fresh in their minds. At that time the Washington administration also started to accuse Libya of involvement in international terrorism and then mounted a direct military adventure by bombarding the country's capital and the town Banghazi. The current situation in Libya is largely similar to that in April 1986. The economic blockade has been extended and Washington is threatening to strike at Libya. This time its sights are trained on a pharmaceutical factory in Rabtah settlement, Gharyan District, which the U.S. alleges is a "chemical weapons plant."

Despite numerous denials from Libya, statements by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and the People's Bureau for Foreign Relations that the Libyan Jamahiriya has observed all international agreements and conventions banning production, stockpiling and proliferation of chemical weapons, the United States continues to fan the anti-Libyan campaign and build up its military presence in the Mediterranean in close proximity to Libyan territorial waters. Pressure is being put on the Libyan people to create a nervous unstable situation in the country. However, faced by the danger of new American aggression, Libyans rallied even closer around the revolutionary leadership. This is illustrated by grassroots meetings that swept Libya and daily meetings and demonstrations in various Lebanese towns. Telegrams, addressed to the leader of the Libyan revolution, Al-Qadhdhafi, express Libyans' resolve to foil the hostile plans, to defend the gains of the September 1, 1969, revolution. Libyans preserve their vigilance and are ready to defend their freedom and independence at any time.

Press Cited on 'Threats'

LD0401073689 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—"It is not by chance that Libya was again chosen as an object of U.S. interference," writes on Wednesday the newspaper PRAVDA with respect to the U.S. threats to make a strike on a pharmaceutical factory near Tripoli, which is allegedly capable of producing chemical weapons.

Americans have been long instilled with an image of a "Libyan enemy" which should be fought by any means. Therefore, it was not difficult for the Washington administration to launch another anti-Libyan campaign in the USA. Under the screen of this campaign, it dispatched a powerful naval task force to the Mediterranean. Now that world nations met with hope and approval the new Soviet initiatives on disarmament, this campaign is clearly aimed at diverting attention from the proposals put forth at the United Nations, writes the newspaper.

The newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says in this connection that Washington's anti-Libyan campaign is a relapse of the notorious "aircraft carrier diplomacy" which the United States does not want to abandon. The U.S. threats to use force are spearheaded not only against Libya but also against the entire Arab world. They can have the most serious consequences for security in the Mediterranean, run counter to the U.N. Charter and detente which is characteristic now of international relations and which is hailed by all nations, the newspaper points out.

U.S. Chemical Laser Modernization Plan Reported

PM0401112689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by unnamed "own correspondent": "United States: Powerful Laser and Pentagon's Plans"]

[Text] New York—The Pentagon has decided to modernize its most powerful ground-based chemical laser—the "Miracle" laser—to be able to use it as an antisatellite weapon.

The first tests of the laser in its new capacity are planned for this year. This has been reported by THE NEW YORK TIMES, citing sources in Congress and the Defense Department.

If this Pentagon decision is approved by the White House and ratified by Congress, then the "strategic defense initiative" proclaimed by President R. Reagan in March 1983 will be officially given the nature of a program aimed at creating an arms system which is not defensive but offensive.

According to the White House's present story, SDI is a program which is being developed exclusively to ensure the defense of civilian and military targets against ballistic missiles. "Any claims concerning SDI's aggressive potential are without foundation," Washington officials of the most diverse ranks have frequently asserted.

According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the Miracle chemical laser in question has already been repeatedly tested as a device capable of destroying objects flying at great speed but at low altitude. The modernization, which will cost approximately $18 million, will make it possible to sharply increase the capacity of the laser located at the White Sands testing range, New Mexico, and thus give it the potential to destroy satellites.

The first tests, if they take place, will be conducted using old U.S. satellites still in orbit as targets. Those who are agitating for the tests believe that apart from everything else the success of this Pentagon undertaking will lend impetus to building, right there in White Sands, an even more powerful laser, whose first section will cost approximately $1.5 billion. The most active supporters of the plan to modernize the laser include Air Force General John Piotrowski, leader of the NORAD allied command.

The general believes that unless the United States has a "satellite killer" serious harm will be caused to U.S. national security. The general has support in Congress, particularly from the senators representing New Mexico.

The plan's opponents include former Air Force Secretary Edward Aldridge, who, THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, would like to avoid confrontation with Congress on the question of antisatellite weapons. Yet this confrontation is inevitable, considering the feelings against plans of this kind—feelings quite widespread on Capitol Hill. One key argument put forward by those against is that the creation of antisatellite weapons is fraught with the danger of aggravating the arms race, and undermining the positive advances taking place in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Of course, much will depend on the stance taken by the administration—not the present administration, which has less than 3 weeks left in office, but the new Bush administration. It seems to me that G. Bush and his entourage have not definitively worked out their position on the entire package of issues connected with the "strategic defense initiative." An analysis of public statements shows that the President-elect is at the crossroads; he may go one way or the other.

It is true that it is well known that the Republican Party's election platform demanded the speediest development and deployment of the SDI system and antisatellite weapons. But the elections are in the past and the urgency of the platform has been eliminated.

To what extent? The answer will be clear within the next few months.

Soviet Journal Interviews Economist Galbraith

LD0301071789 Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—The importance of the "perestroyka" economic reform in the USSR is indisputable. It gives the necessary impetus to transformations which make it possible more fully to reveal the physical and intellectual potential of Soviet people. This view was expressed by prominent American scholar John Galbraith in an interview with the journal KOMMUNIST.

Neither capitalism nor socialism can afford to have immobile and rigid structures, the U.S. economist said. They must transform themselves, to compromise with the demands of the life. Such an approach, according to him, holds out good prospects for reforms in the USSR.

Speaking about the general trends in the development of modern economies, John Galbraith dwelt on the impact which large bureaucratic structures have on the economic activity. These structures, he stressed, have an obvious tendency towards rigidity and immunity to innovation. Therefore it is extremely important, both for capitalism and socialism, to lower the level of bureaucratism through decentralized decision making, the market mechanism, prices and incentives.

The American scholar expressed his conviction that economic progress was possible only when such decisions were made by the producer himself. An example of the effectiveness of such an approach can be agriculture. In this field, John Galbraith said, the greatest success is achieved when nothing hampers the emergency of the producer.

Dwelling on the prospects for the development of capitalist and socialist models of the economy John Galbraith noted that in future a diversity of economic, social, political and cultural forms of the two systems will probably increase. The point at issue is increasing diversity, the free exchange of achievements and mutual enrichment. Only this way promotes further progress of human civilisation, he stressed.

Tenacity of American Vested Interests Noted

PM0301133589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by own correspondent V. Linnik under the heading "Before the Big Sail, or New Year's Thoughts on the Shores of the Hudson"]

[Text] New York—"Naves solvere...." I read these words—which mean "untie the boats"—a long time ago in an old Latin dictionary. In ancient times they signified the forthcoming sea journey associated with the arrival of spring, the long haul, or, in the metaphorical sense—the beginning of any enterprise. A fine image! The unbearably blue brilliance of the skies, the constant lapping of the waves, the scent of hot wood and melting resin, the strong pulsing of blood in your veins, and the strong hands of the sailors untying the boats....

Why should this phrase have suddenly floated to the surface again from the depths of my memory? Possibly because this image conveys best of all the present situation in the world, when mankind is setting off on a new, hitherto unknown journey signifying a break with much in its past experience. It is a journey into the world of the future, where there must be no cold wars or hot wars and no strong-arm law in relations between states.

Another year is coming to a close and the time has come to sum up the results, renew some of the old pledges, and make new vows. We are seeing the end of a year in which triumph mingled with tragedy, defeat with victory—a year of amazing transformation in international relations and the happy acquisition of a consciousness common to all mankind.

The world is becoming ever more perceptibly different, and we in our turn are becoming different within it. A whole era in Soviet-U.S. relations is coming to an end. "In terms of world affairs, 1988 was one of those rare

years of which one can truly say that it signified the end of one era and the beginning of another," THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote recently. "This year has been a watershed in every sense: the end of a world composed of two states and the beginning of a world consisting of many."

If, in the calendar of the year's political events, you were to seek the one most associated in people's minds with this watershed, it would undoubtedly be the speech by the Soviet leader to the United Nations. In the hour spent by M.S. Gorbachev on the General Assembly rostrum you could almost physically sense the gathering of momentum by the critical mass, initiating a further chain reaction in international politics. You would have thought that Americans could no longer be surprised by anything this year. The country has become tired of politicians and political novelties in the year of the presidential election campaign. Nevertheless, the response has been enormous and the words spoken that day struck a very sensitive chord in American hearts.

"There are events and happenings," I.S. Turgenev wrote, as if he had foreseen this day in December, "which concentrate so much life in one instant that it would continue for centuries to come."

Obviously, one speech, however remarkable, and one action, however significant its consequences, cannot produce changes on this kind of scale in people's consciousness.
stroke. But in 1988, as in previous years, the vector of our foreign policy has been important and has unambiguously pointed to a departure from old dogmas and hackneyed notions. The new system of our foreign policy views was reaffirmed in this appeal to all mankind.

We should not be misled by how people here interpret the motives behind the Soviet Union's move in the direction of new political thinking. There is a broad spectrum of opinions. Some people believe that our peaceable attitude has been forced upon us—supposedly dictated by the state of our economy. Others are of the opinion that virtually the very basis of "Soviet ideology" has perhaps changed—particularly as an aim has been ascribed to this ideology that it has never in fact had: namely, ensuring communist domination of the world by force.

So what are the most tangible results of the new political thinking here—in a country which for decades has been our enemy number one? It is not simply the desire and willingness of the American public to reduce its military expenditure—this has happened before. In this sense, the mood here changes as often as the moon waxes and wanes. The main point is that U.S. public opinion is becoming our partner in the search for new rules for the international community. The reason for this is mainly rooted in our own changes. Americans finally seem to be realizing that the Soviet Union has no intention of attacking them and that we either do not pose a threat to the United States any longer or that this threat is minimal.

"The era of goodwill" between our peoples is perhaps not irrevocably established, but it is clear that quite different winds have begun to blow. The help given to the victims of the Armenian earthquake and the wave of sympathy which stirred America confirmed this more clearly than anything else. There has been nothing like it since the days of lend-lease. This heartfelt response was, of course, something more than responsiveness to another's misfortune—it was also a reaction to everything that has happened in our country in the last few years.

It would be wrong, however, even considering the particularly mellow mood accompanying the changeover between the old and new years, to portray the situation as if a bright world were just around the corner. Everything is more or less clear with regard to the moods of the U.S. public. The questions begin where U.S. policy is made. Those responsible for this are also aware that changes are apparent in the nature of the fundamental conflict between East and West and that they must react to them. But how? They are asking themselves a lot of questions in this respect.

It would be ludicrous to underestimate the strength of those who represent, as they say in America, "vested interests": the military contractors, the Pentagon, and those members of the intellectual elite who serve these circles. Clearly, they have an interest in preserving the status quo of recent years: namely, all the military programs and new ones besides, as well as the same levels of military expenditure. The U.S. Defense Department is currently arguing that in order to ensure its "global commitments" the United States must have 19 aircraft carriers rather than the 15 currently planned. The U.S. Air Force will supposedly only be able to fulfill the tasks incumbent upon it if it has more than 50 tactical aviation "wings" rather than the 38 it currently has at its disposal. The Pentagon, which has never had any difficulty in inventing various "gaps," is already showing feigned concern over what is now known as the "strategic gap." What it means by this is the gap between the U.S. tasks connected with the U.S. military presence in various regions of the world and the still only anticipated reduction in the numbers of arms and armed forces as a result of a smaller Pentagon budget. They sit in their soundproof offices lamenting the fact that they are "lagging behind"—behind whom, behind what?—as if nothing had changed in the world.

But the questions do not end here. How, in light of the new Soviet policy, should they set about restructuring the "defense structure" of the Western world? The fact that this structure entails the presence of one in four members of the U.S. Armed Forces outside the United States clearly shows the nature and thrust of this structure.

And what should become of the arms systems already under production or planned for the future—SDI, mobile MX and Midgetman missiles, and Stealth bombers? Or the 350,000 U.S. troops in West Europe? And the 40,000-strong corps in South Korea, which, as is well

known, President Carter considered withdrawing in 1977? Will there not be a split in the NATO alliance after our unilateral cuts in Europe in connection with the U.S. and West European peoples' clear disposition toward a curtailment of military potentials?

These are all difficult questions which are having to be and will have to be answered by those who imbibed with their mothers' milk a mistrust of everything coming from us. Incidentally, the diverse doubters' voices differ in this respect. Some people's doubts are on "legitimate grounds," as they say, as it is generally natural to have doubts about anything new and unfamiliar. Others are doubting "ex officio," as their existence and well-being depend on the maintenance of the status quo. "The latter have been thrown a challenge and they will certainly be hard pressed," D. Nyusom [name as transliterated], from Georgetown University's Institute of Diplomacy, noted recently in this connection.

Washington, where political life has noticeably died down in anticipation of the change of master in the White House, is afraid of giving the wrong answers to these questions. Too harsh a response will alienate Europeans either in the western or the eastern part of the continent. But it is also afraid to give too soft a response. What domestic and economic consequences would this have for the new administration? Would it not stir up the hornet's nest of the ever-vociferous right wing just at the moment when it seems there is a bipartisan basis for conducting U.S. foreign policy?

...All this, of course, is prose which ill accords with the poetry of the New Year. But the poetry of life will only prevail when the prose of disarmament becomes reality.

Despite our fear of the unknown, we must abandon our comfortable, familiar places in order to achieve this. They only seemed to be safe—in reality they are not at all. To set off on our journey we must untie the boats. Naves solvere....

China

PRC Foreign Minister's Press Interview Cited

LD0301224089 Moscow TASS in English 2210 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade January 4 TASS—If the launched preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting proceed well and the meeting is held this year, this will signal a normalization of relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China, said Qian Qichen, Chinese foreign minister. He gave an interview in Beijing to Yugoslav journalists ahead of his official friendly visit to Yugoslavia beginning on January 4. The interview was released by TANJUG news agency.

Speaking about international issues, the head of the Chinese foreign policy department paid particular attention to Soviet-Chinese relations. Both sides regard normalization as the establishment of a new type of relations, which will not be either relations of the alliance of the 50's or relations of confrontation and conflicts of the 60's and 70's, but will be the relations of good-neighbourliness based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, he stressed. Simultaneously, both countries will establish a mechanism for solving problems of bilateral relations in the future.

Describing Sino-American relations as on the whole good and relatively stable, Qian Qichen said that of decisive importance to them will be the stance adopted by Washington toward the process of relieving tension and strengthening ties between continental China and Taiwan. If the United States does not hamper but, conversely, facilitate this process, relations between China and the United States have very good prospects.

Positively assessing the process of the relaxation of tension in the world, the Chinese foreign minister stated that there still were obstacles to the development of this process, basic contradictions were not removed and elements of instability were preserved. This process takes on particular importance when European countries join it. A positive development of relations in Europe is manifest in the strengthening of links among West European countries, in contacts between states of Eastern and Western Europe, which became more lively and intensive, and in the establishment of official relations between EEC and CMEA.

Western Europe's estrangement and the more so the adoption of protectionist measures against other states would not have benefited these processes. [sentence as received] This would have been a negative step and would have disadvantaged Western Europe itself and other countries, Qian Qichen noted.

Responding to a question on whether there are prospects for the beginning of direct talks between China and Vietnam soon, he pointed to the known position and China's readiness for direct talks with Hanoi.

Soviet Sinologist Comments on PRC Relations

LD3012145188 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—"Thanks to the efforts of the USSR and the People's Republic of China, relations between the two countries have been developing along the ascending line in 1988. Today, they cover virtually all spheres of inter-state communication", said Mikhail Titarenko, a prominent Soviet scholar. The director of the Institute of the Far East of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and president of the All-Union Association of Sinologues, gave an interview to TASS.

The scholar underscored the importance of the official visit to the USSR of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, the first in over three decades, early in December. The outcome of the Chinese minister's conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev and talks with Eduard Shevardnadze are evidence of the beginning of a qualitatively new state in the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and China.

The zone of mutual understanding between the USSR and China in tackling global problems of peace, security and cooperation has been extended. The two countries revealed that they hold close or common approaches to settling many conflict situations, specifically in the Middle East, in the south of Africa, in Central America and on the Korean peninsula. Progress is seen at Soviet-Chinese consultations aimed at settling the situation around Kampuchea.

"It is gratifying that a mutual wish is to develop in our countries to exchange expertise not only in the economic but also in the socio-political field," Titarenko stressed. "Mikhail Gorbachev's interview with the Chinese weekly LIAOWANG, repeated re-publication in China of his book 'Perestroyka: New Thinking for our Country and the World,' and also the publication in the USSR of collected works by Deng Xiaoping 'Basic Issues of Modern China' demonstrate that the two countries show greater mutual confidence and interest in each other's life and views".

The issue of a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting was shunted into a practical plane. The two-level meeting is planned to be held in the first half of next year. This event is sure to contribute to the development of relations between the USSR and China to the level that would measure up to the two major socialist countries' influence on world politics, Titarenkof noted.

The improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations is undoubtedly in the vital interest of the peoples of the USSR and China and contributes most directly to the amelioration of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and all over the world, the Soviet experts holds.

PRC Seeks Contacts With Taiwan, 'Unification'

PM0401085989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Support of Contacts"]

[Text] Beijing, 31 Dec—The CPC and the Chinese Government sincerely desire to discuss matters of state with Taiwan's parties, organizations, and figures from various circles, to establish contacts with them, and to hold consultations on the motherland's unification.

According to XINHUA reports, this was declared by Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council, at a rally held here to mark the publication of an "appeal to Taiwanese compatriots." The CPC, he said, advocates the earliest possible holding of talks between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang on an equal basis.

"The question of the motherland's unification could be discussed, and, to start with, consultations could be held on specific questions concerning relations between the two shores of the Taiwan Strait," Wu Xueqian noted. China must be united. The situation in China and the international atmosphere have now created a more favorable climate and conditions for the motherland's unification.

Railroad Project Agreement Signed With PRC

OW0101135789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] On 28 December, the USSR and PRC signed an agreement under which the USSR will provide credit for building a railroad between Usu and Alashankou in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The document was signed by Kachanov, first deputy minister for foreign economic relations, and Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union. Our station reporter Malin was at the signing ceremony and here is his report:

The section of railroad between Usu and Alashankou is 210 km long and is to be completed by 1991. When completed, the trunk line, which passes through Kazakhstan, will be the shortest way between the eastern and western parts of China on one side and the European part of the Soviet Union on the other, as well as between Europe and Asia. It will be the third major railroad which connects the USSR and the PRC.

In a speech at the signing ceremony, Kachanov pointed out: The Soviet Union is willing to help China build this railroad. Gorbachev indicated such a wish in his Vladivostok speech as early as in 1986. The first deputy minister continued:

[Begin Kachanov recording in Russian fading into Chinese translation] The signing of the agreement on providing credit not only represents progress in expanding cooperation with China and in carrying out specific tasks of economic construction—it also reflects the desire on the part of the USSR and the PRC to strengthen good-neighborly relations. In 1991, materials needed by the two nations' economies will be carried on the new trunk line. Development of passenger transportation will further increase contacts between the border regions of the two nations. Before railroad transportation through Kazakhstan begins, the USSR will overhaul the 300-km-long stretch between Druzhba station and the new Alashankou station.

According to experts, the operation of the new trunk line will help cut by 30 to 50 percent the transport expenses for freight traffic between the two countries. [end recording]

Chinese ambassador Yu Hongliang spoke. He said:

[Begin Yu Hongliang recording] I am deeply honored to represent our government in signing the agreement today with the comrade deputy minister, under which the USSR will provide credit for building the railroad between Usu and Alashankou. This is another achievement of Sino-Soviet economic cooperation which merits congratulations. Our comrades in Xinjiang have already been building the stretch between Usu and Alashankou for quite some time. The credit provided by the Soviet Government will help the construction of this project. As the comrade first deputy minister just said, this railroad line, when linked up at the border of the two nations, will become another artery connecting the Continents of Europe and Asia. In the long run, this railroad will not only contribute to the economic cooperation between the PRC and the USSR but also to the economic cooperation among many nations in Europe and Asia. As we all know, there was the Silk Road in ancient times. This railroad, once linked up, will become a modern Silk Road. I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to thank the Soviet and Chinese experts and the comrades who have worked hard for this agreement. I am convinced that this agreement will be carried out successfully through our joint efforts. [end recording]

Tadzhikistan, Xinjiang To Set Up Joint Venture

OW0301030789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] A Tajik delegation has signed a contract with the Government of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region to establish a Soviet-Chinese joint venture in Tadzhikistan to produce [word indistinct], television sets, and [word indistinct] equipment.

China will provide technology and equipment on the basis of its existing enterprises. Foreign exchange will be used to settle the account. China can use the profits to buy various commodities, including refrigerators, in Tadzhik.

Construction Project With PRC Completed

LD3112101088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Summary] A bus station built by PRC specialists has come into operation in the Pogranichnyy settlement Primorskiy Kray. This is the first project whose construction was planned with the participation of PRC specialists.

Northeast Asia

Recent Ministerial Talks With Japan Hailed

OW2912111688 Tokyo KYODO in English 1037 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, Dec 29 KYODO—Soviet Embassy sources on Thursday hailed the outcome of Soviet-Japan ministerial talks last week as "a step forward toward a new relationship" but said that further progress hinges on Japan's willingness to expand the dialogue beyond what it calls a territorial dispute.

Soviet officials, briefing reporters in Japanese on condition of anonymity, characterized the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Japanese counterpart Sosuke Uno as part of a series of such meetings which will help pave the way for a future summit meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita.

The officials repeatedly emphasized the importance of a passage in the Japan-Soviet joint communique, issued December 21, which states that Gorbachev would be prepared to visit Japan "in the context of an overall improvement in relations" between the two countries.

Shevardnadze's planned meetings with Uno in Paris in early January and in Moscow in the spring will serve as the central part of the "mechanism" for preparing for the summit, the officials said, adding that the timing of the summit "will depend on how smoothly those preparations go."

"Our standing position has been that the content of the talks is more important than (setting) a date," one official said.

Indicating that a visit by Gorbachev to Japan, which would be the first ever by a Soviet leader, is unlikely to materialize if Japan insists on a return of the four disputed islands seized following World War II as a precondition to expanded economic and other ties with Moscow. [sentence as received]

The official said the upcoming ministerial talks should specifically address five proposals set fourth by Shevardnadze during his December 18-21 visit, including the conclusion of bilateral accords on the environment, space utilization, economic cooperation, investment, and banking.

He said conclusion of the accords would greatly facilitate the process of normalizing relations and working toward a peace treaty, but denied Moscow necessarily holds them to be "preconditions."

On Japan's long-standing game plan of consistently pressing the territorial issue, he said, "If the Japanese side wishes to make any proposals, they will of course be taken into consideration by the Soviet side."

Referring to the working groups set up by the two sides to tackle obstacles to a peace treaty, the Embassy official said their mission is to take in "wide-ranging problems, including political, economic, geographical, and other problems."

Pressed to elaborate on the meaning of "geographical" problems, he responded, "Of course, I mean border alignment problems.... This is an inherent aspect of any peace treaty."

The Soviets have until recently refused to recognize the existence of a territorial dispute with Japan. A 1956 agreement to return two of the islands was disavowed by the Soviet Union when Japan renewed its security arrangement with the United States.

The official said that the talks would address the "experiences" that have occured within the last 33 years since the two countries reestablished relations in the same 1956 accord, but stressed that "the historical perspective should also be accompanied by political and international perspectives."

"When we start on this work, we should not look at these things through rose-colored glasses," he said, adding that "lots of patience" is called for in tackling complicated problems.

Questioned further on the joint communique's reference to "problems" in the way of a peace treaty and "difficulties" existing in bilateral relations, the official denied that the two sides agreed verbally that the wording referred specifically to the territorial issue.

He said it represented bilateral economic problems, such as the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] case, fisheries disputes, and the "different approaches the two countries have toward the conclusion of a peace treaty."

He praised the mood of the talks as "extremely constructive, calm and patient," and said both countries were able to take an initial step toward closing the gap in their opposing views. He called on future talks to be held in the same vein.

Joint North-South Korean Team for Asian Games

PM0301160589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Proposal Accepted"]

[Text] REUTER reports from Seoul: South Korea has accepted the DPRK's proposal that a joint team be sent to the Asian Games in Beijing in 1990.

It was proposed that preliminary talks on this question be held at the demarcation line separating the DPRK and South Korea.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Daw Khin Kyi Buried in Burma, Leaders Noted

Commentary Reviews Life

BK0301080589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 2 Jan 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, Daw [Madame] Khin Kyi, the late leader of the Burmese women and wife of General Aung San, will be laid to rest today. Daw Khin Kyi was greatly respected by the Burmese people. She had a heart of gold and profound love for the people, always having the cause of the common people in mind. In Rangoon there is even a residential area established with her own contributions. She was always ready to help people who needed assistance.

On this sad occasion, the thought of Gen Aung San—the life partner of Daw Khin Kyi—also comes to mind. Gen Aung San was a Burmese leader who was equal to such Burmese historical figures and national heroes as Alaung Phaya, Mindon, and Maha Bandoola. He was able to unify all the national forces within the country in order to attain independence, and he also laid the foundation for the newly independent country.

The general always gave priority to making sure that there was equality for all nationalities, that democracy prevailed in the country, and that the interests of the people and the Defense Forces remained one and the same. No one has forgotten the instructions of the founding father of the Union of Burma.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of Gen Aung San, has become the successor to her father's dreams. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's heart was with the people despite her staying overseas for many years. She could not avoid being taken in by the waves of recent mass demonstrations. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who had come to Burma to attend to her ailing mother, could no longer be an outsider.

Despite the many difficulties, the National League for Democracy [NLD]—the party Aung San Suu Kyi is leading—is gradually getting stronger and is gaining greater support with time. According to some, the NLD now has more than a million members. The NLD has become the top opposition party in the country and has already laid down a definitive platform and economic policies.

I do not believe it is necessary to predict the outcome of the general elections that will be held in Burma. This year we have seen the vast majority of the people becoming politically active in order to defend their basic interests.

Gen Aung San had also struggled for the interests of the people. We should not leave out Daw Khin Kyi when mentioning Gen Aung San's name, for Daw Khin Kyi's virtues will always be remembered by one and all.

100,000 Attend Funeral

BK0301115689 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] In Rangoon on 2 January, more than 100,000 people peacefully attended the funeral procession of Daw Khin Kyi, wife of General Aung San, the late national leader of the anti-fascist struggle. A noteworthy point is that Daw Khin Kyi's daughter, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, is the general secretary of the National League for Democracy [NLD]. Since its founding, the membership of the NLD has steadily increased, and today it is more than one million.

Prior to the funeral procession, the chief of staff had stationed more troops on the streets.

The people participating in the procession marched for about 2 hours, but discipline and organization were so good that the authorities could not find any fault with them.

Anniversary of Kampuchean People's Republic Noted

LD0301194589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1140 GMT 3 Jan 89

["Rebirth" program, presented by Stanislav Blazhenkov]

[Excerpt] [Blazhenkov] Ten years have passed since the day when the People's Republic of Kampuchea was proclaimed. On the eve of this important date, our correspondent in Phnom Penh, Yevgeniy Kachanov, met Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] and president of the PRK Council of State, and asked him to talk about the first decade in the life of the republic.

[Begin Heng Samrin recording in Cambodian with superimposed Russian translation] The 10-year stage in the rebirth of Cambodia, which began the day of the country's liberation on 7 January 1979 and is continuing to the present day, is a decade of trials, and of the successful and consistent fulfillment of the course mapped out by the KPRP. The party has boldly taken on the guidance of the country, following the rout of the Pol Pot regime of genocide, which inflicted enormous damage on our entire society. The material and technical base, already not too powerful, and the social and political structure, which was only just beginning to take proper shape, were destroyed. The whole of the rule of this inhuman regime brought incredible sufferings to the people.

Recalling those times, we say that we began to build the country from scratch and with our bare hands. At that time we had nothing but the real threat of new adversities, new trials. Immediately following the day of the liberation, the party outlined aims and measures for reviving the nation and for resolving the paramount tasks, the speediest elimination of famine and the organization of the fight against various diseases threatening the lives of millions of people. At the same time we created the conditions for the return of the people to their previous places of residence, their home villages and districts, and we raised their feeling of self-help, primarily to provide the starving population with food products and the most essential goods. Every handful, every grain of rice was priceless to us.

At the same time, we had to constantly rebuff the intrigues of the Pol Potists and other opposition groups aspiring to regain their lost power. We now have every reason to draw the following conclusion: The course of our revolution is a just road, directed at achieving one noble aim—serving the interests of the people and the fatherland. For this reason, all strata of Cambodian society, both in the country and abroad, are working vigorously in this direction. If one recalls what we began from, then everything that has been achieved over 10 years inspires in us a feeling of legitimate pride.

Social life is taking its normal course. The living conditions of the people, in material and spiritual terms, have stabilized, and continue to develop from day to day. More than 20,000 members of the party; the party cells; the state organs; the voluntary organizations; more than 200,000 key workers and employees; the armed forces, the militia, and the self-defense forces; all of these are our support. Their intensive and selfless work is a weighty guarantee of the very existence of the PRK, of peace and stability, of democratic rights and liberties, and of the participation of the people in determining their own destiny.

At the present time the Cambodian revolution has entered a qualitatively new stage of its development, when its forces are themselves determining the destiny of their country, a stage of struggle and negotiations, requiring from the key workers, from the fighters, and from the whole of the people a high level of solidarity and solid unity, faith in the correctness of the path the party has chosen, faith in their own powers, and selfless work in resolving the strategic tasks and aims determined by the Fifth KPRP Congress.

In the current situation, it is essential to take into account the fact that the enemy, in spite of the defeats and losses he has suffered, has not given up his designs to turn back the development of Cambodia; as before, he aspires to seize power. It is also essential to consistently develop the economy and raise the people's standard of living. These are the fundamental problems of our development, comprising the main directions of our struggle for the forthcoming period. In the near future we are

faced with the task of strengthening solidarity among all strata of society, all Cambodian nationalities, resident both in the country and abroad—with all who oppose the Pol Pot clique, even though they may not be at one with our political ideals in everything.

We are faced with the task of raising a feeling of patriotism and hatred toward all those who are hampering the rebirth of the Cambodian people. We ardently welcome the aid of the fraternal friendly countries, of the international community, and of all those who do not want a repetition of this tragedy and advocate the construction of a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia. Relying on the revolutionary gains and acquired experience, on our own powers in determining the destiny of our country, on the bonds of solidarity of the three countries of Indochina, and also on solidarity with the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist and other friendly countries, we firmly believe in the ultimate victory of the Cambodian revolution. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Possible Khmer Rouge Return in Cambodia Noted
BK0401075389 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Station observer Vasiliy Fedorov commentary]

[Text] The Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh, 10 years ago a deserted ghost town, is now lively and crowded with a population numbering nearly 1 million, according to (?Dennis Greve), a reporter of the U.S. news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS, who is visiting there. At marketplaces, foods and imported goods are abundant. Privately owned restaurants can be found everywhere, and all over the city there are mixed enterprises which are the joint ventures of Japanese companies and Chinese residents. However, the Phnom Penh government has an obligation to give a candid answer to the vital question of whether it is capable of preventing the return to power of the Pol Pot group, in the wake of a complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. According to our observer Vasiliy Fedorov, the question is being posed throughout the country, and one can easily understand the concern of the people over the matter.

Prospects for a practical settlement of the Cambodian conflict were generally promising in 1988, but the question of its application was the daily issue. The Vietnamese troops are continuing their gradual withdrawal from Cambodia. Last year alone, the Vietnamese troops present in the country were reduced twice, to 50,000 men. A few days ago, the SRV foreign minister, Comrade Nguyen Co Thach, in an interview granted to the monthly VIETNAM COURRIER, reaffirmed that the last detachment of the Vietnamese troops will leave Cambodia by 1990 at the latest. Meanwhile, there are worrying reports that the Pol Pot group is preparing for a new attempt to seize power in Cambodia, immediately following the completion of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal. It is worth mentioning that in his interview, Comrade Nguyen Co Thach also expressed some of his concerns over the military preparation by the Pol Pot group, saying that a number of states, while urging Vietnam to speed up its troop withdrawal, at the same time attempt to remove from the Cambodian people their legitimate right to solve their own affairs—and they continue their military aid to the Pol Pot group.

It is worth noting that at the Bogor meeting in mid-1988, the four Cambodian parties jointly considered as the framework of a solution to the Cambodian problem the linkage of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal to the cessation of aid to the Khmer Rouge and the prevention of their return to power in Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge group also concurred with the measures, and following the meeting, the Khmer Rouge leaders have also repeatedly stated that they do not demand a power monopoly for their party. However, based on innumerable reports from Western reporters and diplomats, one can clearly see that Pol Pot's armed forces, which have their safe havens on Thai territory, are busily being boosted.

As for the PRK, it is still securely controlling the country, and Phnom Penh will undoubtedly be able to counterattack the Khmer Rouge if they launch wide-ranging military operations against the PRK in 1990. A civil war would thus erupt, with disastrous consequences, and the responsibility would fall on those who are currently providing the Pol Pot group with armaments.

Commentary on Brunei Independence Anniversary
BK0101100389 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1300 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Anatoliy Aleksandrov commentary on the 5th Anniversary of Brunei's Independence, 1 January 1989]

[Text] Prior to 1 January 1984, Brunei was a British protectorate for 7 decades and exercised self-rule for a quarter of a century. After independence, not unnaturally, the Sultanate of Brunei immediately became a member of ASEAN. Located on the northwestern coast of Kalimantan, Brunei Darussalam is linked with other ASEAN countries through deep-rooted ties. However, it has its own special characteristics.

Oil and natural gas have made Brunei Darussalam not only the richest country in the region but one of the richest in the world. With a population of 230,000 people, the sultanate earns billions of petrodollars annually. What worries the Brunei rulers now are the level of oil prices and the awareness that natural resources are limited. That is why several policies aimed at economic diversification are being pursued in the country. The government is establishing new industries such as textiles, food, and furniture industries, opening the doors to foreign investment, and reducing the dependence on food imports by further developing the agricultural sector.

Simultaneously, Brunei Darussalam's affiliation with ASEAN points not only to its differences from other Southeast Asian countries, but also to their identical interests. The ASEAN countries have a convergence of views on the main topic—the association's approach to the most important regional and global issues. Thus, it is of special note that discussions among the ASEAN members on the establishment of a zone of peace have been a key topic since the association accepted Brunei Darussalam as a member in Jakarta 5 years ago.

It should also be noted that the path of settling regional conflicts by political means, and playing a role in efforts to eliminate nuclear threats against the world, have become an increasingly visible part of ASEAN's activities from that date. Despite complex circumstances, efforts to settle the Cambodian issue are gradually moving ahead. The possible establishment of a zone of peace in Southeast Asia is being actively discussed within ASEAN. As mentioned in the recent Soviet-Philippine joint communique, the realization of this proposal will eventually contribute to the strengthening of international security not only in Southeast Asia but in the Asia-Pacific region and the world over.

Since independence, Brunei Darussalam has become involved in ASEAN's political activities, and this means (?that with this combined activity), the efforts of the Southeast Asian countries will become more effective.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev, Yakovlev Receive Khomeyni Envoy

LD0401082789 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev received in the Kremlin on Wednesday Ayatollah Javadi Amoli, personal representative of Imam Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the meeting.

Bessmertnykh Meets U.S., Pakistani Ambassadors

LD3112075188 Moscow TASS in English 0747 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 31 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, on Friday invited Jack Matlock, U.S. Ambassador in Moscow, and called his attention to the new initiative of Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, for a cease-fire by the government troops in the entire territory of the country from January 1, 1989 and his call to the opposition to follow suit.

It was pointed out that the aforementioned actions were in line with the proposals of Afghan settlement aired by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session, and created favourable conditions for intensifying talks in Afghanistan and beyond it with a view to looking for specific ways to form a broad-based government in that country.

The hope was expressed that the American side will look with utmost attention at the new opportunities opening for Afghan settlement.

On the same day, Bessmertnykh received Pakistani Ambassador Abdul Sattar and held a talk with him in connection with the new proposals for Afghan settlement put forward by Kabul.

Vorontsov Holds Talks With Afghan Opposition

Travels to Iran, Pakistan

PM0401101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report "from REUTER, AFP, and TASS reports": "Afghanistan: Quest for Peaceful Solution Continues"]

[Excerpt] Citing the IRNA news agency, REUTER and AFP report the arrival in Tehran of Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, who has begun talks here with representatives of eight parties of the Afghan opposition based on Iranian territory. The Soviet diplomat, who is at the same time the USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, was received by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. According to the agencies' reports Yu.M. Vorontsov described the Afghan mujahedin based in Iran as "an important side taking part in the conflict." "There is no military solution to the Afghan conflict," he stated in a talk with the Iranian minister. "There is only the path of a political settlement of the conflict."

It is expected that on 4 January Yu.M. Vorontsov will arrive in Islamabad, where talks will begin between the Soviet representatives and the leaders of the "alliance of seven." Responsible Pakistani representatives will take part in them. [passage omitted]

Moscow Dari on Tehran Talks

TA0301202289 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, who is also Soviet ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, is to meet today with leaders of Afghan opposition groups in Iran. This is the second round of talks in Tehran.

Following his arrival in Tehran, the Soviet representative also held talks on Monday with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. IRNA reported that during this meeting, Yuliy Vorontsov stressed the importance that all Afghan forces, parties, and groups take part in the efforts to normalize the situation in Afghanistan. The Soviet diplomat expressed the hope that the results of his

talks with representatives of the Afghan opposition in Iran will be positive, just as the results of his recent meetings in Saudi Arabia were. There, he conferred with leaders of the so-called seven-member alliance headquartered in Pakistan. These contacts are being held on the basis of the agreement reached with authorities of the Republic of Afghanistan.

In Tehran, Yuliy Vorontsov called on the Afghan opposition to accept the unilateral cease-fire proclaimed by Afghan President Najibullah as of 1 January. Soviet military forces still in Afghanistan have declared a cease-fire as well. Radio Afghanistan has reported, however, that yesterday armed opposition groups launched rocket attacks and shelled 6 towns in the country.

TASS Reports Meeting in Tehran

LD0301171589 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, who is also the USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, visited Tehran by mutual agreement with the Iranian side.

He had conversations at Iran's Foreign Ministry and met representatives of the Afghan opposition at their request.

Vorontsov lately had a number of meetings with a view to promoting a political settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan and a dialogue between all sides concerned.

During these meetings, the Soviet official laid an emphasis on the issue of the return home of Soviet soldiers captured by the Afghan opposition.

On December 6, 1988, by agreement with Afghan President Najibullah, Vorontsov had meetings with a delegation of the Afghan opposition (Alliance of the Seven), led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, in Al-Ta'if, Saudi Arabia.

On December 24, he met former Afghan King Muhammad Zahir Shah in Rome. Both the Soviet Union and Afghanistan believe that Zahir Shah could play a useful role in restoring peace in Afghanistan and starting an Afghan dialogue involving all political forces.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told reporters in Moscow today that Vorontsov, upon completion of his meetings in Tehran, is leaving for Islamabad where he will meet representatives of the Pakistani leadership.

Tehran Talks, Visit Reviewed

LD0301205389 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and Soviet ambassador to the republic of Afghanistan, was staying in Tehran on January 2-3 at the invitation of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

During his stay in Tehran, Yuliy Vorontsov was received by President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Seyyed Ali Khamene'i and had a substantive conversation with Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran 'Ali Akbar Velayati. The question of an early end to the war and establishment of peace in Afghanistan was thoroughly discussed during these meetings.

The Soviet side set out the ideas and considerations about turning the ceasefire started on the initiative of President Najibullah on January 1 into a permanent state of peace and also about convening shortly a consultative group (peace conference) of representatives of all Afghan political parties and groups to set the beginning to the process of forming a broad-based government.

The Iranian side expressed interest in achieving an early end to blood-letting in Afghanistan, in the solution of political problems by Afghans themselves, and consolidation of Afghanistan's independent and non-aligned status.

The parties expressed mutual interest in the continuation of contacts to speed up the process of peaceful political settlement to the Afghan problem.

Upon agreement with President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah a meeting was also held in Tehran between Yuliy Vorontsov and the leadership of the oppositional "Council of the Islamic Coalition of Afghanistan" (the Union of Eight) headed by Muhammad Karim Khalili.

The stand of the USSR and of the Republic of Afghanistan on the question of Afghan settlement was set out by the Soviet side. It was emphasised particularly that adoption of ceasefire by all political forces involved in the conflict would be an important practical step toward the restoration of peace in Afghanistan and creation of a broad-based government in that country. The idea of convening a consultative group (or a peace conference) consisting of representatives of all Afghan political parties and groups was set out in detail. Such a group or conference could form a steering council (a provisional centralised steering body) which in turn could create a broad-based coalition government of Afghanistan.

The leaders of the Union of Eight promised to analyse closely all these ideas and considerations. They declared in favour of pluralism of political tendencies and parties

in Afghanistan without any discrimination or persecution and in favour of relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet UNion having in future the same friendly and good-neighbourly character that formed historically.

It was agreed to continue the contacts.

Arrives in Pakistan

LD0401092989 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Islamabad January 4 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, arrived here today for a three-day visit.

Addressing journalists at Islamabad airport Vorontsov stated that he arrived in Islamabad to discuss a solution to the Afghan problem with the Pakistani leadership.

The visit plans envisage his meeting with the Pakistani president and prime minister, and talks with the minister of foreign affairs.

The Soviet envoy pointed out he did not rule out the possibility of a continuation of the talks with the leaders of the Afghan armed opposition if they are prepared for that.

Moves Toward Peace in Afghanistan Discussed

LD0301224489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Excerpts] [Gennadiy Vedenyapin] To start with I want to draw your attention, comrades, to events in and around Afghanistan. To judge from BAKHTAR agency reports, the situation in the country continues to remain complex, complex despite the fact that the republic's government has adopted a decision on a unilateral cease-fire from 1 January this year on all of Afghanistan's territory. It is known that a similar order was also given to Soviet troops. [passage omitted]

Today is the second round of talks in Tehran between Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, our country's ambassador in Afghanistan, and leaders of Afghan opposition groups in Iran. [passage omitted] So it needs to be said that the development of events around Afghanistan and inside it is taking place extremely actively, and for many people unexpectedly. One can even say that for a certain section of both observers and direct participants in events in Afghanistan, our country's diplomatic steps and Kabul's political initiatives are unexpected, and are naturally giving rise to different reactions in the world, but I ask my colleague Vladimir Fadeyev to dwell in greater detail on this. Over to you:

[Fadeyev] These days commentaries by the Western mass news media on Afghanistan are really no different from the appraisals of the process that has recently taken shape, first and foremost in Afghanistan itself. [passage omitted]

Naturally recent diplomatic actions are being carried out on the basis of agreement between the Republic of Afghanistan and our country. The complexity of resolving the seemingly long imminent and long-suffered question of peace hangs on the problem of a future government or, more accurately, the composition of it. The present leadership does not consider possible a departure from the political arena of the PDPA, and it would not be logical to go along with such a condition. However, the leaders of the opposition are insisting on just this.

True, there are also moderates among them who think that in this matter one ought to go for compromise for the sake of the interests of the people. There are more of those who for the sake of personal ambitions and selfish interests are ready to throw more and more new victims in the fire of a senseless war. However, what is worse is that these short-sighted politicians are encouraged in such actions by certain circles in Washington and Islamabad. Even today, when it would seem clear that our country has not given, and will not give, cause for doubting its faithfulness and responsibility in the face of obligations undertaken in connection with a withdrawal of troops by 15 February, voices are to be heard in that selfsame Washington calling for no hurry with a vote of confidence for the Soviets, as they call us over there. Open assurances are also being carried from over there of help for the mujahidin, including military help, in giving political support to their holy war, and so on and so forth.

In just over a month there should not be a single Soviet soldier remaining in Afghanistan. The UN Organization is continuing its efforts to find a mechanism to form some kind of temporary government, naturally with the participation of all sides, while the opposition is still dreaming only of a military victory. This is a real tragedy for thousands of people, and this tragedy lies on the consciences of both the rebels and their inciters.

Incidentally, on the subject of the latter, it is well known how much place in its propaganda the White House has allocated to the question of so-called positive symmetry in mattrs of deliveries of weapons to the warring sides following the signing of the Geneva agreements. There were also assurances about readiness to show restraint in this matter, but we are now calling for a moratorium on military deliveries, and for some reason the United States is keeping silent in reply to our proposal. More than that—in his recent statement on Afghanistan, President Reagan stated that our, that is, U.S. support for the mujahidin struggle, will continue for as long as a need for it is felt.

With such a setting down of the matter, when they are getting ready in Washington to decide the question of the future of the Afghan people, the words of the U.S. President about the right of the Afghan people to a free outpouring of will can remain just so, only words in the speech of an U.S. President who is leaving his post.

Afghan Army Launches Retaliatory Strike

LD0301201789 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 3 TASS—Afghan extremists have resumed their attacks today, despite the unilateral ceasefire by government troops. Dwelling quarters of Qandahar were subjected to a strong missile and artillery fire which entailed loss of life among civilians and servicemen. Afghan Army units were compelled to hit a retaliatory strike on groups of opposition, killing over 40 rebels. A number of settlements in the Baghlan, Paktia and Khowst Districts were also fired at today.

According to the data of the military command of the republic, units from the groups of Hikmatyar, Khalis, Rabbani and Sayyaf, who head the biggest parties of the Peshawar alliance of seven, fired at settlements and attacked places of dislocation of units of Afghanistan's Armed Forces.

Afghan Foreign Ministry Statement on Libya

LD0101144089 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 1 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan has sharply condemned the U.S.-fomented anti-Libyan campaign. The statement of its spokesman, circulated here today, says that Washington is trying to justify possible new aggressive acts against Libya by accusing her of manufacutring chemical weapons. These provocative actions of the American authorities endanger not only the security of northern Africa, but threaten the world-wide process of relaxing tensions in general. The Afghan Foreign Ministry declared its unreserved support to friendly Libya, subjected to overt pressure by the United States, the BAKHTAR news service reports.

India, Pakistan Sign Nuclear Agreement

LD3112183288 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Islamabad December 31 TASS—India and Pakistan today signed an agreement that forbids both countries from attacking each other's nuclear installations.

Besides this, two more agreements, on cooperation in culture and preventing double taxation in trade, were concluded.

The documents were signed following a three-day summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) whose seven members are Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Republic of Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Further on Visit by Ethiopian Delegation

Received by Lukyanov

PM2912095388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ethiopian Parliamentarians Received"]

[Text] On 26 December A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received a delegation of the National Assembly (Shengo) of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE] headed by Debela Dinssa, member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee and deputy chairman of the PDRE Council of State.

It was emphasized during the talks that the visit to the Soviet Union by the PDRE National Assembly delegation opens a new page in the history of relations between the two countries' peoples. The establishment of direct contacts between the parliaments of the USSR and the PDRE will still further strengthen Soviet-Ethiopian friendship and create new favorable conditions for a mutual exchange of experience in the sphere of state building.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the state of bilateral relations in various spheres and with the dynamics of their development on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the USSR and Ethiopia, and emphasized their intention to reveal its potential still more fully and to seek new forms and methods of cooperation between the two countries.

The guests showed great interest in the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union. They were briefed on the results of the CPSU Central Committee November (1988) Plenum and the extraordinary 12th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, and on the Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and on Elections of People's Deputies which it adopted.

The Ethiopian parliamentarians spoke about the work and results of the Ninth WPE Central Committee Plenum, their significance for the PDRE's economic and social development, and the measures the Ethiopian leadership is taking with a view to resolving the complex problems facing the country.

A.I. Lukyanov noted the sincere attention that Soviet people pay to the friendly Ethiopian people's affairs and concerns and the Soviet Union's solidarity with their efforts in consolidating and deepening progressive transformations.

During a discussion of international problems the attention of the PDRE National Assembly delegation was drawn to the modern view of the problems facing our planet's peoples on the threshold of the 21st century, reflected in M.S. Gorbachev's recent UN speech. The participants in the talks came out in favor of democratizing and humanizing international relations, emphasized the need for all members of the world community to conduct a joint search for a way toward secure and lasting peace and to preserve the viability of human civilization, and noted the important role which all countries' parliamentarians are called upon to play in this process.

On behalf of the PDRE National Assembly (Shengo), Debela Dinssa invited a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to visit Ethiopia. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Joint Announcement Adopted

PM0301191989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

["Joint Soviet-Ethiopian Announcement" on 19-26 December visit to the USSR of the Ethiopian parliamentary delegation]

[Text] A delegation of the National Assembly (Shengo) of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE), led by Debela Dinssa, member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) Central Committee and vice president of the PDRE Council of State, stayed in the Soviet Union 19-26 December on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament).

The delegation was received by Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Ethiopian guests had meetings and talks with the chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yuriy Khristoradnov and Avgust Voss, with the chairmen and members of the standing commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and with Tatyana Ivanova, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The delegation laid wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin wall.

Besides Moscow, the delegation of the PDRE National Assembly visited the Daghestan ASSR, where they familiarized themselves with the structure of local state bodies and their work under the conditions of the current restructuring process, and toured agricultural and industrial enterprises.

During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, the sides exchanged information on the activities of the legislative bodies of the two countries, discussed topical problems of the present-day international situation, and considered some matters concerning bilateral Soviet-Ethiopian relations.

The Ethiopian guests were told about the current reform of the political system in the Soviet Union, about measures to enhance the role of the soviets of people's deputies in the Soviet political system and to establish a socialist state committed to the rule of law, and about the results of the work of the 12th extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the eleventh convocation and the laws adopted "on changes and addenda to the Constitution of the USSR" and "on the election of people's deputies."

The Ethiopian parliamentarians gave a high appraisal of the current restructuring process in Soviet society and wished the Soviet people successes along this course. For its part, the delegation of the PDRE National Assembly informed its interlocutors of the results of the ninth plenary meeting of the WPE Central Committee, the results which are based on the report delivered at the session by Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the WPE Central Committee, president of the PDRE, and commander in chief of the country's Armed Forces, and of the plans mapped out at the plenary meeting to rectify the country's economic situation and to raise the well-being of the working people of Ethiopia.

They also described preparations for the formation of a new structure of local government bodies at the level of autonomous regions and administrative districts in implementation of the decisions made at the second session of the PDRE National Assembly.

The Soviet side expressed support for the activities of the leadership of the PDRE and the WPE aimed at asserting democracy, at developing the country socially and economically, and at raising the living standard of the Ethiopian people.

The Soviet and Ethiopian parliamentarians unanimously agree that the principles of the new political thinking being established in world affairs on an increasingly large scale, and the growing awareness of the need to enter a peaceful period of development, open up fundamentally new possibilities for solving the key problem of our time: to enable human civilization to survive.

In this connection it was emphasized that the concept of the present-day world set out by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in his 7 December address to the United Nations, and the inherent ideas of establishing new international relations and looking for a human consensus in preparation for a new world order are of particular importance.

The parliamentarians are called upon to play an important role in the cause of democratizing and humanizing international relations, in asserting the priority of common human values in world politics, in developing friendship and cooperation between countries, and in building a single universal home in the world.

Highly appreciating the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Soviet and Ethiopian parliamentarians pointed out the importance of further progress along the road of disarmament, including the achievement of concrete results at the talks on the problem of reducing by 50 percent the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States, while preserving the ABM Treaty, the elaboration of a convention to eliminate chemical weapons, and reductions in conventional arms and armed forces in Europe.

From the viewpoint of strengthening security on the African Continent, the need to put the idea of declaring Africa a nuclear-free zone on a practical plane was pointed out.

The sides also expressed conviction about the need to combine the efforts of all states to raise the role of the United Nations in world affairs, to ensure international economic security, to solve the foreign debt problem of the developing countries, to improve the global ecological situation, and to engage in peaceful exploration of outer space.

The parliamentarians of the two countries positively evaluated the tangible effect the new political thinking is having on the resolution of conflicts in various parts of the world.

During the discussion of the situation in the Horn of Africa, the sides unanimously expressed support for establishing an atmosphere of peace and good-neighbourliness there on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and the territorial integrity of states, and mutual noninterference in internal affairs.

When discussing the state of relations between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia, the Soviet and Ethiopian parliamentarians were gratified to point out that the relations consistently develop on the solid foundation of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, the 10th anniversary of which was ceremonially marked in the two countries recently. A big contribution to the process is being made by regular, comradely contacts between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia and by fruitful ties between the CPSU and the WPE.

The sides expressed confidence that Soviet-Ethiopian cooperation in the political, economic, sceintific, and cultural fields, as well as in the international arena would continue to grow stronger. Interparliamentary contacts are becoming a new facet of the two countries' cooperation, as illustrated by this visit of the PDRE National Assembly delegation to the Soviet Union.

The Ethiopian parliamentarians expressed satisfaction with the results of their stay in the Soviet Union and voiced gratitude to the Soviet side for the warm reception accorded to them. On behalf of the PDRE National Assembly, they invited a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to visit Ethiopia. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

UNITA Blamed for Luanda 'Sabotage' Explosion

LD0101133789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Report from Angola by correspondent Aleksey Sokolov]

[Text] The security forces and police in Luanda are continuing to investigate an explosion on a street in the Angolan capital. As a result of the act of sabotage 1 person died and over 10 were injured. I have been to the site of the incident.

Evidently, the explosion was fairly powerful. The bomb is presumed to have been below a flight of stairs on the first floor of a five-storey building. Two small shops, which sold electrical goods and books, were destroyed. Windows were blown out. One can now get into the building only through the rear entrance. One of the inhabitants remarked that there would have been more casualties if the explosion had occurred an hour earlier, because at that time children are usually playing by the building.

The explosion was the second such act of sabotage in the capital in the outgoing year. The investigation is continuing, but the criminals are betrayed by their hallmark. The opinion of all Angolans with whom I spoke coincided: The act of sabotage is the doing of the UNITA antigovernment grouping. Note the moment chosen by the terrorists: Just a few days ago in New York an agreement was signed on a settlement of the situation in southwest Africa.

The agreement puts the UNITA forces in a difficult situation. For, after the departure of the South African troops from Namibia, the puppets will not be able to count any longer on direct support from them. The African countries' pressure on the United States to stop interfering in Angola's internal affairs, including financial and material aid to the UNITA formations, is also intensifying. One such call resounded in a communique on the results of the recent meeting of the heads of the Frontline States in the Zambian capital, Lusaka. All the indications are that the sabotage raid in Luanda is none other than an attempt by UNITA to remind its patrons of its existence.

One can evaluate the raid also as the response of the irreconcilable section of the bandits to the adoption by the republican assembly of an amnesty law. As is clear from it, the republic is ready to forgive all who have erred. The amnesty law is a sign not of the government's weakness but of its strength and of the magnanimity of the people. In conducting a policy of mercy, the leadership of the country and its Armed Forces are, however, resolutely rebuffing those who do not wish to accept the calls and who continue terrorist activity. Thus, according to a general staff communique, 69 terrorists were eliminated in various provinces of the country from 21 to 27 December, and much military materiel was captured.

East Europe

CSSR Denies Supplying Explosives to Terrorists

LD3012210688 Moscow TASS in English 2057 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Prague December 30 TASS—A spokesman for Czechoslovakia's Foreign Ministry made a statement concerning the information in some British and other mass media which link the crash of a "Boeing 747" airliner of the Pan American company in Scotland with assertions about a possible use of explosives of the Czechoslovak trademark "Semtex".

The Czechoslovak news agency CETEKA reported that the statement says:

Czechoslovakia emphasized again that it categorically condemns all acts, forms and methods of terrorism and consistently fulfils the corresponding international obligations. Czechoslovakia has never supplied nor does it supply explosives to terrorist organisations. We are prepared any time to send Czechoslovak specialists to conduct expertise [as received] since this would help establish if explosives were used.

CSSR Implements New Joint Enterprises Law

LD0201123289 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] Prague January 2 TASS—A new law on joint enterprises involving foreign capital came into force in Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1989. The new law means that limits on the share of foreign investment have been lifted for the very first time.

Mechanical engineering, the chemical industry and tourism are the most likely spheres for joint ventures, according to the Czechoslovak news agency CTK.

There are nine such ventures in Czechoslovakia, including the joint-stock company Aveks cooperating with the Dutch Philips firm. It manufactured 30,000 video cassette recorders in 1988 and plans to make another 70,000 this year.

The joint Czechoslovak-French firm Autotour was founded in early December. The firm is expected to build a modern hotel with 500 beds by the end of 1991.

SFRY's Mikulic Explains Resignation Decision

PM0301143989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Government's Resignation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Dec—A joint session of the Yugoslav parliament's two chambers—the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Federal Assembly—accepted on 30 December the resignation of the country's government, the Federal Executive Council headed by B. Mikulic.

The government will perform its functions until a new Federal Executive Council is constituted and ratified by the Federal Assembly.

Explaining the reasons for the resignation of the government, which was formed in May 1986, B. Mikulic declared that the direct cause was the blocking of the Federal Executive Council's draft law on temporary restrictions of consumption in the public activities sphere and in sociopolitical organizations in 1989.

He declared that the current Federal Executive Council is often identified with the crisis in the country while the genuine causes of the crisis are ignored. The Federal Executive Council seems to be blamed for having pointed out errors in fundamental documents and in development policies over the past decades. Yet it is being reproached for failing to remedy these errors in just 2 and ½ years.

The government did not create the crisis, B. Mikulic declared, it only evaluated it and drew the conclusion that it would be impossible to get out of the crisis without radical changes in the economic system. This was why we decided to suggest a program for overcoming the crisis, but "constitutional differences" objectively hindered the Federal Assembly's ordinary working procedure when adopting most of the fundamental laws and other documents of major importance for overcoming the crisis.

B. Mikulic also pointed out shortcomings in the government's work. He mentioned as one of them the inadequate training of cadres in state management organs.

SFRY's Suvar Cited on Country's Problems

LD3112134388 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade December 31 TASS—The year 1988 was difficult for Yugoslav working people and, maybe, the most difficult in the past few years, Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), said in an

interview with the newspaper BORBA, DELO and OSLOBOJENE. He said 1989 would be a year of new prospects for the country's development.

New initiatives are gaining ground in Yugoslavia, he stressed. Various currents and movements propose all kinds of programmes designed to take the country out of the crisis situation, looking mainly for the culprits for the current difficult economic situation in society. But the LCY, which is the country's most responsible organisation, clearly and explicitly stands for the renewal of socialism as the continuation of the strategic course of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

Stipe Suvar pointed out that a way to a democratically developed and modern Yugoslavia—a free and rich country—lies only through the renewal of socialism, its development in the name of man. The country's division by national traits, he said, paralyses the country. As long as Yugoslavia is a socialist country, it cannot have Serbian, Croatian, Slovak or any other national trait. Yugoslavia should be socialist and united.

Speaking about Kosovo, Stipe Suvar stressed that the forthcoming reforms should help improve the situation in that autonomous region. Ending the illegal organized activity of the forces of Albanian nationalism and separatism is of top priority. The conditioning of Albanians from counterrevolutionary positions with the aim of creating an ethnically homogenous Kosovo and seceding from Yugoslavia has not ended yet. Albanian nationalists help foster anti-Serbian feelings, spread rumours about the alleged loss by Albanians of all rights, including the right to their mother tongue and soil as a result of the proposed changes in the Serbian Constitution. The main weakness of the Communists in Kosovo is inadequate explanatory work among the Albanian population. In this plane the League of Communists of Kosovo failed to pass the exam.

Agreement had been reached on the main ideological and political issues of the forthcoming economic reform, Stipe Suvar said further. However many practical steps were either too late or never made at all. Therefore the reform would hardly make a successful start. It was more important to start, at long last, curbing the inflation which was assuming a threatening scale. The reform aims to overhaul the economic structure already before the end of the current century.

Introducing the multiparty system in Yugoslavia, the president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee said, would lead to the strengthening of conflicts on the national, regional and class basis, which was evidenced by the initiatives to create new parties in which national narrow-mindedness made itself felt. The goal of the forthcoming reform in the party and the political system is exactly to prevent the elements of such system.

In conclusion Stipe Suvar drew attention to the role of the mass media in the struggle for social progress.

Moscow Television Assesses Year in Yugoslavia

LD3012202788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent V. Nogin]

[Text] The year now ending has not been an easy one for Yugoslavia: price increases to make your head spin, inflation already expressed as a three-digit figure, strikes and mass demonstrations by workers—it's had all of these in the year now ending. Of course, these could not fail to complicate the domestic political situation in the country.

The country's leadership and the LCY Central Committee are urgently looking for ways out of the crisis. Amendments to the SFRY Constitution have been adopted which guarantee further democratization in Yugoslav society. Laws that will significantly change the functioning of the Yugoslav economic mechanism are due to come into force 1 January. And a special commission has been established in the LCY Central Committee to prepare proposals for reform within the LCY.

In a word, much is expected here of the approaching year. Hopes are linked principally with changes in the political system, the economy, and the party. The future will show whether they will be justified. But for now the people of Belgrade are in the midst of New Year cares. After all, the New Year, 1989, is on the threshold.

West Europe

FRG's Genscher Meets With Soviet Ambassador

LD3012171388 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn December 30 TASS—West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has emphasized the tremendous importance of a conference devoted to the issue of banning chemical weapons due to open in Paris at the level of foreign ministers of Western and Eastern countries.

In a talk with Soviet Ambassador to the Republic of West Germany Yuliy Kvitsinskiy he noted that West Germany persistently favoured a global and total ban of this type of weapon of mass destruction. Genscher also drew attention to the need to bring to a successful fruition the Vienna followup meeting of representatives of the participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe so as to begin without delay talks on reducing armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

These and other disarmament issues will be discussed at a meeting between Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Eduard Shevardnadze in Paris during the afore-mentioned conference. Genscher's talk with the Soviet ambassador held today was devoted to preparations for this meeting.

Besides, the West German and Soviet ministers intend to discuss issues of further developing Soviet-West German bilateral relations and the content of a joint political document which is supposed to be signed during the visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to West Germany in the first half of 1989.

The head of the West German foreign policy department and the Soviet ambassador discussed opportunities for West German assistance in rebuilding Armenian cities and villages destroyed during the earthquake. The ambassador expressed gratitude for West Germany's readiness to extend this aid, drawing attention to a particular importance of building medical and children's institutions in earthquake-hit areas. Genscher proposed setting up a task force that will identify in collaboration with respective Soviet bodies areas and priorities of West German assistance.

Soviet Official Writes on Cooperation With FRG

AU3112162588 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 30 Dec 88 p 25

[Article by Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet section of the USSR-FRG Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation: "Restructuring Can Raise Economic Relations to a New Level"]

[Text] Among the capitalist industrialized nations, the FRG has been the most important trading partner of the USSR for years. During this time we have acquired considerable experience in the field of economic cooperation, which continues to be based on a solid stock of agreements. Our business relations are dynamic and highly imaginative. They are aimed at solving the problems of both today and tomorrow.

Although, on the whole, we regard USSR-FRG trade and economic relations as positive, it would be premature to say that we are fully satisfied with their present stage. Rather we believe that the two countries are far from having fully utilized all potential in this field.

Today, structural perfection and industrialization of exports are considered to be particularly urgent tasks in the USSR. We must by no means be satisfied when almost 80 percent of the export value in our trade with the FRG and other capitalist industrialized countries consists of energy sources and raw materials. This indicates above all that our foreign trade organizations have not fully utilized the USSR's economic, production, and research potential, while our country's participation in the international division of labor does by no means correspond to its real possibilities and interests.

The Soviet leadership has paid great attention to the situation that has developed in the field of our country's foreign trade relations. We have embarked on the course toward restructuring foreign trade structures. Exports and imports are to be made more efficient.

The decisions that have already been made are to increase the producers' interest in raising the output of highly efficient export goods and, on a larger scale, in dramatically raising the technological level of Soviet industry, and guaranteeing competitive strength and first-class quality of the products. These decisions are to ensure the development of the export basis and the entire economy.

We know that increasing Soviet exports of traditional goods, mainly raw materials, in exchange for manufactured products from the FRG, is possible only to a limited degree and, considering economic developments, not always. I would like to mention at this point that under the impact of the known price factors, Soviet exports to the FRG shrank considerably in 1986 and 1987. This was bound to have an effect on the dynamism of the overall trade turnover. Although there is hope that these targets will be stabilized or even increased in 1988, a growing export volume will be a particularly urgent challenge.

We Are Firmly Determined To Change Our Situation in the Framework of the International Division of Labor and To Follow the Road of Active Economic Cooperation

Even today our primary goals are economizing on resources, giving priority to the development of research-intensive sectors and making the scientific-technological potential translate into quality.

A fundamental concept of USSR-FRG relations is to be worked out by the time Mikhail Gorbachev is to visit the FRG. Economic connections are to be promoted in this context.

We very much appreciate the FRG Government's course toward consolidating the comprehensive relations with the USSR, as well as the FRG economy's initiative and determination to perfect traditional fields of cooperation and open up new fields. We consider this to be a guarantee for making our economic and political contacts more stable and predictable.

The FRG leadership shows that it assesses the present situation in a similar way. This was expressly confirmed by Chancellor Kohl's visit to the USSR. The contractual basis of our cooperation has been completed by a package of important agreements and arrangements, which are mostly related to economic issues. The meetings of representatives of FRG Government and business with members of the Soviet leadership bear eloquent witness to the mutual desire to expand the range of economic relations, to deepen their content and to harmonize them to a larger degree with the demands of our current life.

The forthcoming visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to the FRG will undoubtedly be a logical continuation of the joint line in USSR-FRG relations, mark new orientation points that are beneficial to both sides, and lead to new, specific initiatives.

Restructuring offers the opportunity to raise business contacts to a new level. Reshaping our economy requires activating foreign trade relations and creating real conditions for fully linking up our country with the international division of labor. Comprehensive work is being done in this field.

The rights of enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives in the foreign trade sector are being widely extended. These rights are guaranteed by adequate articles in the USSR law on state enterprises and in the law on cooperatives. A number of enterprises, ministries for certain sectors, and organizations have already been given the right to carry out imports and exports independently. These practices will be expanded. There can be no doubt that in the interest of Soviet and foreign partners in trade and economic cooperation, individual legal regulations, as well as the entire contractual basis that is valid in this field, will gradually be improved.

I can note with satisfaction that a good contractual basis for a generous and comprehensive cooperation has now been created. We have concluded a number of important economic agreements as well as agreements on scientific-technological cooperation, on cooperation in the health sector, environmental protection, agriculture, foodstuffs industry, the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, etc. We have agreed on considerably increasing scientific contacts and joint projects in the field of space research. We have also envisaged a large-scale program on modernizing some 300 enterprises of the Soviet light and foodstuffs industry with the cooperation of FRG companies. Headed by Deutsche Bank, a consortium of FRG banks has granted a R1 billion loan for this purpose. These important forms of cooperation that are beneficial to both sides have been planned on a long-term basis.

Implementing the USSR-FRG agreement on scientific-technological cooperation, which was signed in 1987, offers remarkable prospects. It has been designed not only to generously use the adequate potentials of our two countries in joint research and development projects, but also to ensure smooth financing and support of such projects by both states.

The range of cooperation and the circle of participants will thus be actively extended. We are firmly determined to change our position in the system of international division of labor and to follow the road of active economic cooperation. We can see that many people in the FRG interpret our intentions correctly. It appears that people there are prepared to be cooperative.

All this gives rise to hope that the economic reform that has been initiated in the USSR, and its continuation in the foreign trade sector, will soon open up the possibility of achieving a new level in relations between our two countries.

The USSR's foreign trade concept proceeds on the assumption that generously using the advantages and possibilities of the international division of labor is an objective necessity. Our country has been actively participating in the process of integration within the framework of the socialist community; socialist countries account for more than 60 percent of our country's turnover in foreign trade. Together with enterprises and organizations of CEMA member states, associations and enterprises are planning cooperation in production, with the main point of attention put on determining the development and implementation of future-oriented technologies, as well as the range and extent of exports and imports within the framework of cooperation. Through this process, Soviet industry is not only able to meet concrete challenges, but also to acquire valuable experiences in the field of international cooperation.

Scientific-technological cooperation and production cooperation are increasingly extended in the USSR's interrelations with capitalist countries and developing countries. Thus, the process of integrating our country in the international division of labor goes beyond the framework of CEMA and involves new countries and industries.

We Do Hope That FRG Companies Will Be Among Our Most Active Business Partners in Developing New Forms of Cooperation

Whether this process will be successful will largely depend on the velocity and the qualitative content of our internal development and on increasing the competitive strength of our products, particularly in the field of machine construction, whose share in USSR total exports is to be increased to 40 percent by the year 2000. This, of course, does not imply that we will reduce our supply of raw materials and thus harm our traditional partners. However, we would like a more evenly balanced participation of our country in the international division of labor.

We consider production cooperation and joint ventures to be the most efficient forms of cooperation. The possibilities of conventional compensation and barter deals, of exchange of licenses, etc. have by no means been fully utilized. On the contrary, strengthening cooperation can provide a new and strong impetus to their development.

More than 20 joint ventures between the USSR and FRG have been established to date, some of which have already started production. They supply modern machine tools, efficient crane trucks, printing products, consumer goods including shoes and so on. In this

context, I would like to point out that at the moment we are working on drawing up an agreement on the mutual protection of investments, which will certainly positively influence the development of joint business activities once it is concluded.

We understand very well that our Western partners show great interest for the new forms of cooperation. They see an opportunity for making profits and getting immediate access to the receptive Soviet market in the long run. Projects for special economic areas on USSR territory, including in the Far East of the country, are being discussed at the moment. Together with several capitalist countries we are working on establishing multilateral syndicates in the fuel industry, in the energy sector, and other branches of the economy.

We do hope that FRG companies will be among our most active business partners in developing new forms of cooperation. To a certain extent, joint projects make it possible to increase the mutual trade turnover and make its structure more attractive. Moreover, they can help extend cooperation in certain third-country markets.

Under the New Conditions, the Committee Must Obviously Act More Dynamically and Flexibly

One can note with satisfaction that both sides display a constructive attitude as far as choosing the areas of cooperation is concerned. They are seeking possibilities to confer a new quality and thoroughness upon the entire body of bilateral relations. The main focus has been put on such areas where the participants have acquired a substantial scientific and technological potential: nuclear energy, machinery construction, pharmaceuticals, medical technology, space research, etc.

The USSR's success in these fields is generally known. Moreover, the USSR has not used nearly all the available reserves in the fields of research, experiment, and development work. Our partners in the FRG have also a considerable potential in these fields as well as extensive experiences in international cooperation. I think that combining our efforts will show good results in solving concrete problems.

Apart from the above-mentioned branches, we are also interested in cooperation with FRG firms in the agricultural sector, in the field of education and training of skilled workers, and in the field of social and cultural services.

The Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the USSR and FRG, which was established between the governments of our two countries at the beginning of the last decade, has played an important role for the development of bilateral economic relations. Thanks to its efforts numerous organizations, enterprises and firms participate in cooperation today, several major projects could be implemented, and the areas of economic cooperation be extended.

At the moment, the world economy is undergoing a rapid change. The USSR's national economy and activities in foreign trade are being restructured at full speed. The EC is working toward establishing a single European market. In view of the current process, the mixed committee has to perfect the forms and methods of its practical work.

Under the new conditions, the committee will obviously have to act more dynamically and flexibly, proceed more rapidly and competently than in the past as far as selecting variants of cooperation is concerned, and orient its groups of experts for the individual branches to new forms of cooperation.

The Soviet side will always pay great attention to ensuring that an increasing number of organizations and enterprises—including small and medium ones—will be involved in this process of solving strategic problems of developing bilateral relations. We believe that new and notable projects will emerge and be properly handled only when direct contact between the cooperation partners can be guaranteed.

At the suggestion of the Soviet side of the committee, for the first time an association for business cooperation with the FRG was established in the USSR. This offers further opportunities to expand business contacts between Soviet and FRG organizations and enterprises.

Many of the above-mentioned questions are likely to be discussed in depth at the forthcoming meeting of the USSR-FRG committee that will be held in the first 6 months of 1989. Therefore, the committee's responsibility for complying with the agreements and arrangements that were concluded in the context of Chancellor Kohl's visit, and those that will be concluded during the forthcoming visit to the FRG by Mikhail Gorbachev, will be widely increased. Today, we regard as our committee's most important task to help put into effect these agreements and to make USSR-FRG relations a model of fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation.

German Communist Party's Mies Assesses Visit

LD3012174588 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn December 30 TASS—Chairman of the German Communist Party Herbert Mies, who recently visited the USSR, has highly assessed the results of his Moscow meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. We have even been conducting a dialogue with the CPSU leadership, he said in an UNSERE ZEIT interview. The German Communist Party continues it most vigorously now that an exchange of opinions is underway on the new thinking in the interests of consolidation of peace, disarmament, cooperation between states with different social systems.

At the meeting with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee the topic discussed was the need for more profound understanding of the revolutionary process of perestroyka, since this builds up confidence in perestroyka and its realisation to lend new dynamism and fresh attraction to socialism. What is implied is a new vision of changes and realities in the world. The Soviet leader seeks to put man into the focus of all social, political, economic and cultural processes to reveal in full his creative abilities.

We received with satisfaction Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on friendship and cohesion with our party and its leadership. On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the formation of the German Communist Party, a few days before its 9th Congress and in the light of the Soviet leader's forthcoming visit to West Germany, our meeting showed once again that the CPSU and the German Communist Party are linked with ties of strong friendship and solidarity.

The year of 1988 has been a year of Soviet-West German dialogue, he said. The dialogue will continue in 1989 when Mikhail Gorbachev pays an official visit to West Germany. In this dialogue the German Communist Party holds the firm place of a full-fledged partner. Its opinion on further development of USSR-West German relations is weighty now when dialogue is developing between the governments of the two countries, their political and social forces. The German Communist Party declares for the official and necessary interstate policy and diplomacy be supplemented with "people's diplomacy". The German Communist Party is seeking as far as it can to promote a deepening of contacts between people in both states.

Latin America & Caribbean

Delegation Departs for Cuban Celebrations

PM0301190989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Departure for Cuba"]

[Excerpt] A Soviet party and government delegation headed by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow for Havana 2 January to attend the celebrations marking the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution's victory at the invitation of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and the Republic of Cuba Council of Ministers.

The delegation consists of V.A. Shamshin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of communications; V.A. Shatalov, chief of the Cosmonaut Training Center and president of the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society; and Yu.V. Petrov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Cuba. [passage omitted]

Ortega Interviewed on Regional Problems

LD0301220189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega gave an interview to Soviet journalists accredited in Nicaragua on New Year's Eve. He said, among other things, that the evolution of the situation in Central America has been determined by the struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica for peace, democracy, and justice. This struggle could not fail to have affected the stand taken by the Central American governments. He said the Nicaraguan people's opposition to U.S. policies became the crucial element in achieving the Guatemala accords. In spite of pressure applied by the U.S. Government, which tried to thwart the peace process, the Central American governments showed a will for finding a political settlement.

One should keep in mind, the Nicaraguan leader stressed, another highly important fact: the accords between the Soviet Union and the United States. These accords undoubtedly reflect a tendency toward resolving international problems and conflicts through talks. He noted that this tendency objectively weakens the U.S. position in its conflict with Nicaragua. The unilateral Soviet initiatives formulated in Comrade Gorbachev's UN speech and the measures aimed at settling the Afghan problem are elements that strengthen the tendency toward disarmament and toward settling international problems through talks, Ortega noted. We see these elements as factors that restrain the policy of interference adhered to by the United States in the Central American region, Daniel Ortega said.

Lukyanov Receives New Costa Rican Envoy

PM0401114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] Enrique Obregon Valverde, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Costa Rica, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Kremlin 28 December.

Speaking at the ceremony, the ambassador voiced satisfaction with the state of and prospects for development of Soviet-Costa Rican relations in many spheres, noted the Soviet Union's great contribution to the cause of strengthening international peace and security, and on behalf of his country's leadership made a high assessment of the peace-loving initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in recent years. The Costa Rican people, he emphasized, look with interest and sympathy on the democratic transformations taking place in the USSR, which are considerably strengthening its international prestige. The ambassador also dwelt in detail on the

efforts being made by the Costa Rican Government and the country's president, O. Arias, personally for a peaceful settlement in Central America.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov said that Soviet-Costa Rican relations are stable in character and are developing in the spirit of constructive cooperation—which accords with the interests of the two countries' peoples. People in the Soviet Union note the activation of Costa Rica's role in international affairs and its efforts aimed at ensuring world peace and achieving a settlement of the conflict in Central America by political means.

The ambassador's attention was drawn to the restructuring processes taking place in the USSR, which are playing a revolutionary role in the life of Soviet society, and to the concept of the new political thinking, which is having a positive influence on the international situation and helping to resolve a number of regional conflicts, including the conflict in Central America. This concept was further developed in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech, which met with approval and support from the international public.

After the presentation of credentials, friendly talks were held between A.I. Lukyanov and E.O. Valverde.

Political & Social

Sakharov Wary of Holding Moscow Rights Conference

AU0401095489 Paris AFP in English 0949 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (AFP)—Soviet Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrey Sakharov Wednesday expressed reservations about the holding of a human rights conference in Moscow, saying that it must depend on the situation in Armenia.

"I am very worried about what is happening in Armenia, and about the arrests of the Karabakh committee," he told AFP, asked to comment on the apparent breakthrough at Vienna talks over a Soviet proposal to host a 1991 conference.

"If the situation does not get better, or even stays the same, the Moscow conference is questionable", he said.

Seven of the 11-member Karabakh committee, spearheading the nationalist movement in Armenia, have been arrested in a Kremlin crackdown since the December 7 earthquake which devastated the republic's northern regions.

Mr. Sakharov travelled at the end of last month to the Armenian capital Yerevan and Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, in a mediation effort approved by Moscow.

But he again refused to give details of his talks on Wednesday. Ethnic unrest in Armenia and Azerbaijan over a territorial dispute has claimed more than 60 lives since February last year.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan Tuesday officially lifted U.S. objections to the 1991 conference in Moscow, to be held in the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Western diplomatic sources in Vienna said that a draft final report of the current follow-up conference in the Helsinki Process, set in motion by the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, called for the Moscow conference to be staged from October 22 to November 15, 1991.

The Americans, who are following France and West Germany in agreeing to the Moscow CSCE conference, cite progress by the Soviet Union on Jewish emigration, the release of political prisoners and freedom of religion and information.

Completion of the draft report, which had been held up over the Moscow conference issue, paves the way for the closure of the current CSCE round, which will lead into East-West talks on reducing troops and conventional armaments in Europe.

Other follow-up conferences are planned in Paris this year and Copenhagen next year.

The CSCE is attended by the 35 signatory nations of the Helsinki Final Act, including all of Europe, except Albania, plus the United States and Canada.

Ryzhkov, Zaykov Tour Factories in Lyublino Rayon

LD0301235489 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 3 January in its "Vremya" newscast broadcasts a video report on the visit to industrial enterprises in Lyublino Rayon by Nikolay Ryzhkov and Lev Zaykov.

Correspondent S. Slipchenko reports over video from the Moscow oil refinery showing external and internal views of the plant. The video then shows Ryzhkov and Zaykov speaking to staff in the control room. Slipchenko says the refinery supplies the capital with various types of unleaded gas. Much has been done here during the reconstruction period which has been going on for 15 years.

Correspondent S. Medvedev takes up the commentary in the Lyublino mechanical foundry works. The video shows Ryzhkov and Zaykov coming off a bus to be met by works staff. Medvedev says the factory is going through hard times at the moment; it manufactures spare parts for locomotives and trucks. It is fulfilling its plan but in very difficult conditions for the workers. He says:

"Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzkov and Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov, who in the past have had much experience working in industrial enterprises, admitted in their conversation with the staff of the works that it was a long time since they had come across such outmoded processes in the steel foundry industry as they had here. The management of the enterprise is in many ways to blame for this. Judge for yourselves. Since 1933, when the works was founded, not a single kopeck had been put into its reconstruction."

Female workers complain to Ryzhkov and Zaykov about the amount of gas and dust in the atmosphere. Zaykov says "What kind of repair work is this? Even this building is not suitable."

Ryzhkov adds: "Well, you know, we have come here specially to have a look. We chose the most difficult workshop. We will sit down with your directors here and we will think about what to do next. I feel that we have some wholesale work to do here."

The video shows Ryzhkov, Zaykov and others walking around the steel foundry viewing processes and talking with staff.

The video then shows a crowd of people in a workshop with a television lights man lighting the scene. Ryzhkov asks how much the workers are paid for night shifts. A

woman answers 5 rubles. Ryzhkov asks how the food is. Two women tell him it is not good. One of them says the food is free at another enterprise but they have to pay a ruble for theirs.

Medvedev says there was a "blunt" discussion on housing. He says a number of problems have accumulated at the enterprise, most of which need to be dealt with immediately. The necessary instructions were issued to Railway Minister Konarev and other leaders who were present at the meeting. The question of reconstruction of the enterprise was resolved in principle, Medvedev says.

The video shows Ryzhkov and Zaykov speaking with a worker at a milling machine. It then shows Ryzhkov and Zaykov at the Avtomobilnyy Zavod Leninskogo Komsomola. They are shown walking in a group that includes Ivan Silayev through a neat and clean workshop which the narrator says is full of modern equipment. The video shows the equipment, including a computer screen with technical data and German words on it. Slipchenko says the cars produced here have witnessed a sharp rise in demand in the world market after winning prizes at prestigious competitions.

Ryzhkov and Zaykov are seen speaking to a works official in front of a robot welding arm. Today, he says the 1988 plan has failed and has not been implemented in terms of profit. The overall number of damage replacement claims last year was 6,300 cars. Permanent workers make up almost 81 percent of the workforce.

The video then shows Ryzhkov speaking with a young woman. He is flanked on his right by Zaykov and Silayev to his left.

The woman says that temporary workers were brought in but that she believes they need people who will stay. She says people see no prospects, so they leave. Ryzhkov says, "In my view, your prospects are very bright, in fact, very good."

The woman says they are going through a difficult moment right now. Ryzhkov agrees. He then says, "We looked at the pressing shop, and then the mechanical workshop, and the plastics. This is...well, if there were only more factories like this one. At the same time, there are still old things here. This is, at present, a crucial moment in your works."

Slipchenko says that this view was unanimous. The works is experiencing growing pains. The video shows robot welding arms tackling car bodies on a processing line, as he says that the tooling plant is probably without equal in the capital. He says Ryzhkov and Zaykov held meetings with representatives of the works' collectives, and in the evening there was a conversation with the aktiv of the Lyublino Rayon of Moscow. The video shows the two leaders again walking in a group past production line workers.

Meet Rayon Officials

LD0301221289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Comrades Ryzhkov and Zaykov had a meeting at the Lyublinskiy CPSU Raykom with the party and economic aktiv of the rayon and delegates to the forthcoming city party report and election conference. In the course of the meeting it was underlined that radical economic reform, further democratization of Soviet society, and the development of glasnost create all the necessary conditions for unfolding the creative energy of the masses. Communists of the capital are approaching the 27th conference of the Moscow party organization with concrete deeds and large-scale plans. The 4th year of the 5-year plan must be marked by acceleration of restructuring, and by an increase of the contribution of the city's labor collectives to national economic development. It must bring real, appreciable improvement in the everyday life of Muscovites.

Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR Ministers Lemayev, Konarev, and Pugin participated in the examination of questions.

Markov Released as Writers Union Chairman

LD0401090789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0434 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan (TASS)—The Secretariat of the Board of the USSR Writers Union has met the request of 77-year-old Georgiy Markov to be released from his duties as chairman of the board of this creative union. In accordance with the union's charter, this question will be submitted for approval by the plenum of the board of the writers' organization, which is to take place this month.

The Secretariat expressed its gratitude to Markov for his many years of fruitful work in the post of first secretary and chairman of the Board of the USSR Writers Union. His great contribution to uniting the country's literary forces was noted.

Georgiy Markov is the author of epic works about Siberia (of which he is a native) such as the renowned novels 'Strogovy' ["The Strogovs"], "Sol Zemli" ["Salt of the Earth"], "Otets i Syn" ["Father and Son"], and "Sibir" ["Siberia"]. In 1971 he was elected first secretary of the Board of the USSR Writers Union. For the past 2 years he has been chairman of the board of the union. Georgiy Markov's activity was highly rewarded. He is twice a Hero of Socialist Labor and a Lenin Prize winner.

Azerbaijani, Armenian Parties Issue Joint Appeal

NC0401123089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 4 Jan 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committees, Supreme Soviet Presidiums, and Councils of Ministers have issued a joint

appeal to citizens who have left their places of permanent residence. The appeal, which was published on the front pages of the newspapers today, said:

The Azerbaijan and Armenian party and soviet organs are consistently putting into effect measures to improve the situation in the region. We must not allow ethnic passions to be stirred in such a way as to cloud our vision. The way to end the existing dispute is through respecting interests, not through taking stands against each other. It is through being willing to make mutual concessions.

Dear comrades, we call on you to resolutely ward off the effort made by irresponsible individuals to cause disturbances, disrupt interethnic justice, generate horrible rumors, and provoke passions. Cast aside every kind of hesitation and doubt. Your neighbors, friends, and work and school colleagues are watching you. Those who have conspired against the brotherhood of peoples, forced families to leave their homes and become refugees, and [words indistinct] will be penalized in accordance with the law.

You can rest assured that those who are nstigating distrubances and interethnic discord will not be able to save themselves from responsibility.

Baku Commandant Posts Curfew Violations
NC0401075989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1000 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 1 January]

[Text] Peace prevailed in Baku last night. Minor cases of (?breaching of laws) occurred, and all have been investigated.

A total of 177 individuals and 23 cars were detained for violating the curfew hours. Three individuals were detained under administrative procedure.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Commandant on Bread Supply
NC0401064789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 3 January]

[Text] Complex weather conditions have created significant difficulties for the city residents. The active contribution of the people and the measures jointly put into effect by the party and soviet organs and the administrative leadership of the special district have permitted the fulfillment of important tasks, including transportation of workers to establishments and administrations, the supply of bread and other provisions, and the maintenance of normal life in the city.

Military vehicles have been used to transport bread and other provisions in a number of rayons. According to the information made available by the meteorological services, the temperature is expected to drop to between 2 and 5 degrees below freezing during the night. The roads will be covered with ice.

I have issued the necessary instructions to secure the normal functioning of all types of transportation. In addition, I wish to urge the owners of private vehicles to avoid using their vehicles as much as possible and to be careful.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Armenian Nationalists 'Armed With Stingers'
PM0401102789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 89 p 2

["Abbreviated" reprint of S. Petrosyan article published in Armenian Communist Party Central Committee newspaper KOMMUNIST: "Time To Gather Stones Together?"; carried under rubric "Topical"]

[Text] The natural disaster in Armenia aroused deep sorrow and compassion among millions of honest people throughout the world. We have started to realize that we cannot survive without assistance, charity, and empathy for someone else's pain.

The desire of certain adventurists to derive political dividends from the situation which has been created looks especially blasphemous against the background of acts of humanism on an international scale.

I think that it is worth looking more closely at that transformation which the "Karabakh" committee has undergone in the last 10 months, its political aims, its slogans, and its methods of influencing the public consciousness.

Let us recall how often the voices of awakened nationalism have been mixed up with them. There have been so many phrases whipping up the public consciousness to actively reject other languages, cultures, and religions. Where did they originate? Not among our people—a profoundly international people—at any rate. Is there an alternative to fraternal union with Russia, to the collective nationwide refashioning of decrepit sociopolitical, economic and legal structures, of [as published] a "poor" peace with our neighbor? And if there is, then what are the alternatives?

So is havoc really an aim in itself? And what will happen to the people as a result of all this? These are natural questions which unfortunately do not fit in with the "Karabakh" committee's political course. Its main aim now is to bring nationalism to a point after which it would be possible to calmly "gather stones together."

What "stones" are in question here?

On 20 December of last year DEUTSCHE WELLE announced: "Ashot Manucharyan, the Armenian human rights defender, warned of the danger of civil war in Armenia, which he believes may envelop the whole of the USSR. Manucharyan called on Soviet state and party head Gorbachev to resume the interrupted dialogue with the 'Karabakh' committee." And on 21 December that same radio station, developing the theme, reported that Manucharyan had given an interview to STERN magazine, stating that "throughout Armenia young people armed with hand grenades and rifles are in readiness."

Radio Canada echoes DEUTSCHE WELLE: "Manucharyan says that it is widely believed among certain young Armenians that the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia can be secured only by means of armed struggle."

But at whom will the grenades be thrown, how can the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast be annexed to Armenia by means of armed struggle? Are these really the words of a person in his right mind and not a political adventurist? Yet such people laid claim to the role of national leaders!

None other than L. Ter-Petrosyan stated at a rally on 21 September that if the legal path leads the people into an impasse and if the people become convinced that we have no law, then the people will resort to armed struggle.

Let us leave the references to the people to Ter-Petrosyan's conscience. He stated at a rally on 22 September: "You must realize that Armenia is occupied. The army which is in Yerevan and other Armenian places is not our army. It is an enemy army." These are the kind of remarks to which you can descend in the desire to achieve your goal.

On the same day A. Manucharyan stated: "But if these troops suddenly attempt to harm the people, let them know that it will be a second Afghanistan."

What is the source of this hatred of our Army, this blasphemy against the internationalist soldiers, among whom there are many Armenians who have honestly fulfilled and are fulfilling their duty? And these are not just statements.

Here is a letter delivered surreptitiously to one law enforcement establishment:

"Ultimatum.

"We demand that the leaders of the 'Karabakh' committee and all political prisoners arrested recently be released immediately. We give you 24 hours to think it over. Otherwise we will switch to mass terror. We are not specifying the time or place of the action. We are armed with 'Stingers' acquired by our friends.

"The ultimatum begins 22 December 1988 at 2100 local time."

Some people may say that this is just a hooligan escapade. But the grenades which A. Manucharyan mentions do exist, and in great numbers. There they are on the photograph, the casings of these grenades. [Photograph accompanying article shows about thirty cylindrical metal objects]

Such is the path of transformation: from "spontaneous" democracy to creating subcommittees at enterprises, in organizations and establishments. From constructive restructuring slogans to nationalist homilies. From disobeying the requirements of the special situation to direct forms of confrontation with the authorities...

Reconstruction Efforts Continue in Armenia

Commission on Train Unloading

LD0401114189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1017 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan (TASS)—The need to enhance party influence on the ministries and departments which are not ensuring the prompt unloading of trains carrying cargo bound for Armenia was stressed at a regular working meeting of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The meeting was held today by Yuriy Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The situation that has arisen with the unloading of railcars was called critical at the meeting. Thus, on 3 January alone, of 2,144 railcars arriving only 1525 were unloaded. At stations a huge number of railcars have accumulated and are blocking the arrival of new trains. The work of the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Armenian Union of Consumers' Societies, the Leninakan City Soviet Executive Committee and other organziations now ensuring the unloading of railcars, intended for them, carrying equipment, fuel and food products was described as extremely unsatisfactory.

People's Control Committees of the USSR and of the republic were instructed to apply fines sanctions against leaders of union and republican rank. It was stressed at the meeting that a most important link in the process of implementing the program for the restoration of normal life in the regions affected by the disaster lay in the

uninterrupted functioning of rail transportation. Without this the republic cannot handle the stream of aid cargo, which is growing daily, from all corners of the Soviet Union.

Information was heard at the meeting on progress in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Leninakan, where operations are continuing on clearing wreckage, searching houses and structures in a state of collapse, and creating the conditions for normal life in the city. The commission supported a proposal from the Leninakan headquarters for the formation of three sanitary trains from Russia, Kazakhstan and Armenia for arranging an effective medical service to the population.

A representative of the USSR Ministry of Trade reported the further expansion of the network of food and manufactured goods shops in Leninakan, which would make it possible to abolish the coupon system for distributing products within the next few days. At the moment 45 food shops, 10 greengrocers, 3 bakeries, and 10 manufactured goods shops as well as 73 public catering facilities are operating in the town.

The commission stated with satisfaction that there has been progress in restoring gas supply to the population. Thus, in the last few days gas supply to 920 apartments in Leninakan has been restored. In the near future another 1,300 apartments will be provided with gas.

The need for accelerating the provision of construction railcars for builders and the population of the town was stressed.

Suren Arutyunyan, member of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, attended the session.

R. Gorbacheva Tours Hospital

PM0301170589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Hospital Visit"]

[Text] On 30 December 1988 R.M. Gorbacheva; Z.P. Pukhova, chairman of the Soviet Womens Committee; G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary; and E.A. Aykazyan, permanent representative of the Armenian SSR in Moscow, visited Armenian children who suffered during the earthquake and who are being treated in the republic children's clinical hospital. The children are accommodated in bright, spacious wards equipped with complex medical instruments. They are surrounded with care and attention here.

The guests stopped by each bed, introduced themselves, and asked how the patients were. The children are responding well to the attention and kindness and are pleased to receive gifts from Moscow schoolchildren. R.M. Gorbacheva told them about the ceremony when the Kremlin fir tree was decorated and lit and invited them to attend these festivites next year.

Many children in the hosptial are with their parents. There was a warm and cordial conversation with Arevaat Khachatryan from Spitak, who is here with Sos, her grandson. This elderly Armenian woman spoke with emotion of the exceptional care with which the entire clinic's personnel surrounded them from the first hours of their stay on Moscow soil.

The clinic is ready to admit for rehabilitation after treatment children who suffered during the earthquake in Armenia and who are now in other medical establishments in the capital.

Brazil Sends Relief Cargo

LD0201224789 Moscow TASS in English 2219 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] Brasilia January 3 TASS—A plane of the Brazilian Air Force flew from Sao Paulo to Moscow on Monday. It carried 24 tons of relief cargoes, incuding medicaments, food and clothes, for victims of the Armenian earthquake. This is part of relief supplies collected on the initiative of the SOS-Armenia Committee which was set up by the Armenian community in Brazil specially for this purpose.

Speakers at a farewell ceremony at the airport pointed out that the special flight organized for delivering relief supplies to Armenia was an act of solidarity, friendship and mutual liking between the Brazilian and Soviet peoples, as well as evidence of a sincere desire to help Armenia which had lived through a devastating natural calamity.

Party Trailing Society in Restructuring

PM0301153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

["Conversation" with L.A. Onikov by correspondent A. Ilin: "Restoring the Leninist Concept of the Party. L.A. Onikov Comments on PRAVDA Readers' Letters on the Course of Restructuring"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction; in the cited interview carried in the 21 July issue of PRAVDA L.A. Onikov is described as "an inspector of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department"]

[Text] Shortly after the conclusion of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference we printed a PRAVDA correspondent's conversation with L.A. Onikov "Toward the Leninist Concept of the Party" (PRAVDA 21 July 1988). These issues had been broached by him earlier, in a special feature "Glasnost and Democracy" (PRAVDA 19 June 1988). Since then the editorial office has received a large number of letters in which readers ask how the restructuring of party work is proceeding in light

of the conference resolutions, and what stage the restoration of the Leninist concept of the party has reached. Above all else, readers want to know more profoundly wherein lies the essence, the crux of the process of restoring the Leninist concept of the party.

[Onikov] The crux lies in returning to the party the role of society's political vanguard in the form in which it was conceived by V.I. Lenin and implemented during his lifetime. Stalin grievously deformed the Leninist concept of the party and methods of party leadership and rejected the collegial, democratic norms of intraparty life, replacing them with the norms of sole command and administrative edict. But outwardly, formally, verbally, and even phraseologically, these norms and principles continued to sound under Stalin just as they had under Lenin.

The mechanism of the deformation of the Leninist concept—and herein lies the entire essence of the question—was that from the end of the twenties to the midthirties the **normatives of the Lenin years**—the resolutions, instructions, regulations, provisions, rules, and so on—were repealed or radically reworked. Their form ostensibly remained the same, but their content sometimes became the complete opposite of what it had been under Lenin. The replacement of the Leninist normatives—these documents were bricked up in special depositories—by the Stalinist counterparts was effected secretly, without the party's knowledge. The new instructions and provisions were strictly secret. This is how the Leninist concept of the party was perverted; this is how intraparty democracy became petrified, leading to the flagrant substitution by party committees of state and economic organs, the bringing down of the country's political foundation—the Soviets—to the utmost possible degree, and so forth.

Consequently, the purpose and content of the process of restoring the Leninist concept of the party consists in imparting to all the fundamental principles, methods, and forms of party leadership that **normative basis** which guarantees in full measure the revival of the Leninist norms and corresponds completely to the radical restructuring of party work.

Of course, there can be no question of a mechnical restoration. Such an approach is incompatible with the living spirit of Leninism—the spirit of uninterrupted consideration of the changes constantly taking place in society. I refer specifically to imparting to party building a normative backup on the basis of **Leninist methodology** with consideration of the radical changes that have occurred in our society and of the achievements of modern management science. The theoretical and practical foundation of such restructuring was provided by the 27th congress and the 19th party conference.

[Ilin] In previous conversations with you, Leon Arshakovich, we have talked about key problems in the development of intraparty democracy. How can the status and course of this process be described today?

[Onikov] A very difficult question. If you recall, Vladimir Ilich Lenin remarked that "if you view whatever social phenomenon you like in the course of its development, there will always appear in it vestiges of the past, the fundamentals of the present, and the seeds of the future." All three factors—the vestiges of the past, the fundamentals of the present, and the seeds of the future—are clearly discernible today in the course of restructuring party work and developing intraparty democracy.

Take a major indicator of the democratism of party life such as electivity—"the ABC of democracy," as Lenin put it. Over the lengthy period of stagnation, especially in its later years, the democratic value of electivity was in practical terms reduced to zero; it had become the emptiest of formalities. There had been nothing like it even under Stalin. I will illustrate this by using the example of such a strong party organization as the Moscow organization. At dozens of party conferences in this organization up to 1940 **there was not a single instance** of anyone, even a single candidacy, from among the members or candidate members of the obkom and gorkom or the members of the auditing commission being elected unanimously [yedinoglasno]. It was considered the normal occurrence then, especially in the twenties, for some of the candidates not to be elected; they were blackballed, as the saying goes. But in 1974, for the first time at a Moscow Oblast party conference, everyone—members and candidate members of the obkom and members of the auditing commission—was elected unanimously. Not one candidacy entered on the voting form received a single vote against! In 1976 the same thing happened for the first time at the city party conference.

That someone could fail to be elected had long been forgotten. It had become the rule that not a single candidate entered on the list received even a solitary vote against. I cited Moscow merely as an example of what was going on on a partywide scale, in practically all party organizations—a sinister indicator of the apathy and impotence of the elective aktiv called upon to form the leading party organs by electing those whom it considered necessary and rejecting the unworthy people who failed to justify the trust in them.

In light of so feeble an electoral system in the pre-April [1985] years, it is difficult to overestimate the political value of that striking shift which has already been accomplished in the course of restructuring and democratization. At the just concluded report-and-election party conferences there have been sufficient examples of Communists voicing their lack of confidence and not reelecting certain party committee secretaries—first secretaries included. In 1987 too more than 900 party gorkom and raykom secretaries were replaced by others, many of whom were elected on an alternative basis. For the first time in many years Communists are seeing that elections are not "sham democracy."

Could even the most fervent optimist on the day of the April (1985) Central Committee plenum—assuming, of course, he knew the real state of affairs inside the party—have imagined that we would succeed in effecting such a decisive breakthrough from stagnation, apathy, and indifference to such a vigorous display of the Communists' will, to an abrupt heightening of the level of exactingness, initiative, and professional efficiency? The elective organs contain an ever increasing number of creative, bold people who are really capable of running the party's affairs.

What about the unprecedented expansion of information and glasnost in the years since the plenum? Or such manifestations of democracy as the freedom to criticize shortcomings? In Lenin's words, they are a real and already achieved "fundamental of the present and seeds of the future."

But there are also painful "vestiges of the past" which, I am not afraid to say, are very dangerous for the normal development of restructuring. Even though the talk of glasnost, as you will recall, was begun by M.S. Gorbachev even before the April plenum, back in December 1984, for Communists it has not yet expanded enough.

Do not look so surprised. That was not a slip of the tongue. There has been an unprecedented expansion of information, equal for all, in our society since the April plenum. Glasnost has consequently also expanded. That applies to you, a Communist and senior official of the leading party newspaper, and equally to a nonparty salesgirl at the Gastronom store on Pravda Street.

But has glasnost expanded as the norm of intraparty democracy for the almost 20 million CPSU members? After all, the work of the raykoms where they are registered with the party used to be secret and has largely remained off limits.

Under the existing provision even information which contains absolutely no secrets but which shows the methods, that is, the means of work of the party raykom where, I repeat, a Communist is registered with the party, is secret.

Is it conceivable that a party organization can possess high efficiency when rank-and-file Communists are essentially cut off from the raykoms and gorkoms, from that **single** link where the entire system of party organs headed by the CPSU Central Committee is directly linked with the entire party mass? The 19th party conference stressed the most important provision of the Leninist concept: The party pursues its policy through the Communists. You will agree that this separation of Communists from their raykoms is fraught with the most undesirable consequences for the success of restructuring.

In my view glasnost has not expanded for the overwhelming majority of members of elective party organs—from raykoms to the central committees of republic party organizations—either. As Stalin established it, they still do not enjoy the right of free access to sessions of the party committee bureau **which is accountable to them** and they do not have the right, as during Lenin's years, to make use of all the documents, information, or statistics at the disposal of the party committee and its apparatus.

This situation means that our efforts to enhance the role of elective organs, to step up their monitoring of the activity of the bureau and apparatuses of party committees, and to increase the effectiveness of their work are to a considerable extent doomed to futility.

[Ilin] Does it not follow from this that the development of intraparty democracy and the state of party building still lag behind the requirements of revolutionary restructuring?

[Onikov] The answer to that is not clear-cut. On the one hand there have been very substantial and, as you said, inspiring improvements in the restructuring of party work and the restoration of the Leninist concept. On the other, if you take into account the pace and scale of the democratization of society, there is a perceptible lag, I think, in the democratization of the party as the political vanguard.

I shall explain my idea. Socialist democracy is an integrated system of elements: soviet, intraparty, trade union, cooperative democracy, and so forth. At the same time it is common knowledge that each system has a leading element. Since society's political vanguard is the CPSU but the implementation of that role is directly linked with the level of development of intraparty democracy, the pace of its development and its maturity ultimately predetermine the democratization of society as a whole.

It cannot be ignored that in absolute terms, as it were, there has been a striking leap forward in the restoration of the Leninist concept and in the development of party democracy. If you remember the level we were at when the course of revolutionary restructuring was proclaimed and our starting point when we embarked on it, then the favorable changes in the party's life are particularly impressive. This is just my personal observation.

The need for restructuring was first mentioned at the April plenum. Less than 1 month later, in a speech in Leningrad on 17 May, M.S. Gorbachev gave the idea of restructuring a global and shock character: "We must all restructure ourselves, all of us," "the most difficult thing is the stage of the psychological restructuring of cadres in the spirit of the new demands," there must be a "restructuring of minds," and "those who are not prepared to restructure themselves must get out of the way and not be a hindrance."

On 28 May, 11 days after that speech and in the very same building where it had been delivered, the Leningrad Obkom Bureau adopted a resolution on measures to fulfill the tasks set by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and approved a plan of practical measures. One of those documents ran to 19 pages (4 sections, 72 points). And... the word "restructuring" isn't even there. The other document mentions it just once and that in a statement—and, furthermore, only with regard to... goods in increased demand among the population. That's all!

I anticipate the rebuke here that the point is not how many times the word "restructuring" is mentioned. Incidentally, it is perhaps used too often now, but is not always backed up by actions. By this example I want to show that initially even such a mature party organization as Leningrad did not fully grasp the idea of restructuring. Assessments should begin from that point. Then the positive change will be particularly obvious. There is much complex work behind it.

If you analyze the process in relative terms, you have to admit that the restructuring of party committees and primary organizations still lags behind the dynamism of these processes in society. Other elements of socialist democracy, primarily the soviet and production elements, are at times being improved more quickly, and party organizations, which are in no hurry to get on with these changes, are being left behind.

Democratization has roused all strata of Soviet society and created in it a new atmosphere, one of activeness, exploration, readiness to act, innovation, and a determination to resolve many long-standing, urgent questions and those which are particularly serious. In view of the protracted lack of experience and traditions these undoubtedly positive manifestations of the democratic spirit are often expressed in a haphazard and disorganized way.

But by no means all party organizations or Communists have proved sufficiently prepared to lead, encourage, or direct this undoubtedly positive social process. But the party did not always notice in time that unhealthy tendencies were appearing or explain the causes, counter them, resolve them, neutralize them, and switch to the path of restructuring.

[Ilin] Such a generalization is unusual, you will agree. Clearly there are specific party committees which merit that rebuke....

[Onikov] I agree. But the fact is that because of the deformations of the years of stagnation, the mass consciousness began to identify the party with its raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms.... And what is more, with the bureau headed by its "No 1" and the staff apparatus of the committee. Numerically speaking, they represent only a handful of the total party membership. According to the Leninist concept the party today means 20 million Communists led by party committees at all levels headed by the CPSU Central Committee.

The lag in the development of intraparty democracy and, consequently, the passivity of a considerable part of the grassroots party masses have been shown with alarming clarity during events which are unusual for us, be they rallies or strikes, disorders, or demonstrations. Cast your mind back: Alma-Ata, Nagorno-Karabakh, Sumgait, Yerevan, Baku, and the Baltic republics.

The differences in people's stances and conduct during these very difficult events could quite easily be correlated to age—this was clearly visible among most young people. Or to social status—workers differed noticeably from the intelligentsia. Nationality stood out particularly sharply. Yet it was far harder and sometimes even impossible to distinguish the conduct of many party members from nonparty people in the general mass of people.

Usually, rank-and-file Communists did not act independently or on their own initiative—they generally waited for orders from above. And orders were by no means always forthcoming. Where was the ability to organize and influence the masses which party members had in Lenin's day? Party organizations often did not even have their own public speakers. That is a bitter truth, but it is still the truth. I say again—a serious imbalance has appeared in the pace of the democratization of various spheres of society and it is increasing—the restructuring in many party links is noticeably lagging behind the restructuring in society.

[Ilin] Can this be regarded as a contradiction which has emerged in the course of restructuring?

[Onikov] Of course. Only one should not be afraid of that word. Where development is taking place contradictions in one form or another are inevitable. They are not dangerous in themselves. The danger lies in failing to notice them. It is even more dangerous to shut your eyes to contradictions and not to take measures to resolve them. It is quite possible to solve them by equalizing the imbalance which has occurred in the pace of the democratization of society.

[Ilin] Have we not rushed ahead too much; should we not curb the pace of democratization, as some letter writers advise?

[Onikov] No way! That would be harmful and would essentially undermine restructuring. The present pace of democratization must be maintained and the imbalance should be overcome, I am convinced, by the accelerated development of intraparty democracy at a preferential rate. In this regard efforts should be channeled first of all

into the main area, if not the only area which directly stimulates to the greatest degree the initiative, boldness, self-discipline, and self-organization of the party mass and of each Communist.

I do not know whether you intend to ask me in what way we deviated most of all from the Leninist concept of the party in years gone by? But if you were to ask it, I would answer in these terms: by forgetting in practice that "all work in the party is conducted, directly or via representatives, by all party members on the basis of equal rights and without exceptions."

[Ilin] What does that mean in more specific terms, in relation to our theme?

[Onikov] Lenin made no distinction in principle between party work that was staff (professional) and nonstaff (on voluntary principles). The expression "nonstaff apparatus" even existed then.

Voluntary principles in party work stem from the essence of the party as a sociopolitical organization. The immediate, direct participation of rank-and-file Communists in the work of raykoms and gorkoms as an aid to their apparatus in the twenties was considered as natural then as, for example, attendance at a party meeting today. This enabled committees to switch the main work from a small group of staff apparatus people to the broad mass of the party. In Moscow, for instance, in the twenties more than 15 percent of Communists—one in six—were **directly involved** in the work of the gorkom and raykom. That is the democratic spirit in its unadorned form.

I repeat: The party has done a very great deal for restructuring. Imagine the gigantic reserve that will be brought into operation when the activeness of each Communist and all the party mass is increased and if this "miraculous resource," as Lenin called it, begins working to full capacity.

It must not be forgotten that Marxists have never regarded intraparty democracy as an end in itself. They saw it as the decisive means for revealing the creative potential of each Communist and the main means for shaping initiative and inculcating consciousness, boldness, discipline, and organization.

The normatives in force to this day essentially **preclude the implementation of this Leninist provision** which has already been mentioned. **That is where one now finds the deepest root** of the lack of initiative and experience, low efficiency, and lax discipline of many Communists, and sometimes their apathy and indifference because it is **only** direct, vital participation in the practice of party life which can mold the qualities of the active political fighter.

[Ilin] The recently created CPSU Central Committee Politburo commissions are designed to facilitate the development of voluntary principles in party work. That, obviously, is also the implementation of Lenin's idea.

[Onikov] You are right. The commissions were created as part of the implementation of the 19th party conference guidelines in full accord with the Leninist concept of the party. They are composed, as a rule, of members of the party's highest elective organs—members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee and members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission. This form is also applied to lower party committees, but as yet it affects mainly the elected aktiv.

But the point at issue is the need to directly involve, as in Lenin's time, a considerable proportion of the rank-and-file party mass in the practice of party work because the crucial element of its activation occurs at the interface between primary organizations and the raykom and gorkom.

The resolution of the last CPSU Central Committee Plenum says that the commissions are "designed to comprehensively promote the development of the collective nature of party leadership." I believe there is a very important question here: To what extent will the Leninist traditions in the work of such commissions and the principle of collective leadership, which are designed to guide their members, be revived?

In Lenin's day the fundamental principle of collective leadership—**the full equality of rights** of all members of the collegium without exception—was guaranteed: the right to receive all information and to utilize documents, statistics, and so forth, the right to monitor the work of any apparatus worker, the right to freely attend any conference, and the right to question the legality of a decision adopted by the collegium. The binding principle of collective leadership, according to Lenin, was nominal voting [poimennoye golosovaniye], without which it is difficult to ensure the personal responsibility of collegium members for the decisions adopted.

Stalin distorted those principles most flagrantly. Under the rules which he introduced and which are in force to this day the **equality of rights of collegium members** was abolished. The greatest rights belonged to the smallest section of the collegium or elective organ—**to those working in the party committee apparatus**. Whereas the vast majority of the members of elective organs were in practice deprived of those rights **through not working in the party committee apparatus**. In any event, even the rank-and-file worker of the staff apparatus had far more rights. The principle of nominal voting was also removed from the practice of the collegium's work. What is going to be done in this respect?

There is another group of questions connected with the commissions' task of fully restoring Lenin's principle of collective discussion and decisionmaking.

Having abolished Lenin's procedures, Stalin introduced the kind of procedures for preparing and implementing party decisions under which the role of the bureau and the apparatus was absolute, while the other members of the leading elective organ had a formal role—or sometimes none at all. In effect most draft resolutions were prepared in secret by the party committee apparatus. After adopting the resolutions the same apparatus carried them out, then it verified how the resolutions it was executing were being executed, and finally that same apparatus reported back on how it had executed them. This undemocratic practice is clearly contrary to the requirements of restructuring and means that many of the CPSU Central Committee's general party resolutions are destined to have little effect.

What measures will be taken to change this long outmoded practice?

We shall have the answers to those questions when the commissions start their work.

[Ilin] Another question which may seem naive at first glance but which is often asked by our readers is the following: When will the task of restoring the Leninist concept of the party be fully realized? Such questions, judging by the letters, arise above all because we quite often plan finance programs, and for the long term, and then forget to verify their execution.... There are clearly forces slowing down restructuring, as well as circumstances complicating it. What do you have to say on this score?

[Onikov] We have a program for the restoration of the Leninist concept of the party, namely, the guidelines of the 19th party conference. Their realization is being accomplished by every Central Committee plenum and by the day-to-day work of the Central Committee.

There are, unfortunately, factors that act as a brake. One of them is the inexplicable delay in resolving long-standing issues. The need to expand glasnost for CPSU members at rayon level has long been evident. I myself was officially told as a party official that the question would be resolved no later than November 1986. It did not happen. In January 1987 M.S. Gorbachev spoke at the Central Committee plenum of the need to "start drafting legal acts guaranteeing glasnost." Despite this direct instruction, a resolution especially devoted to glasnost (on Vladimir Oblast) adopted that same year essentially failed to provide the **necessary guarantees of glasnost**. The resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference again enshrined the need to bring normatives guaranteeing glasnost into line with the demands of democratization. The question, as you can see, remains essentially at the level it was during the years of stagnation.

Let us hope that these issues will be resolved by the time of the 28th congress and that the experience accumulated will be enshrined in the party statutes.

[Ilin] Is it not too early to talk about the 28th congress and the statutes?

[Onikov] By the yardstick of the years of stagnation, it is too early, as there are no instructions. But by the yardstick of restructuring, it is not. We are quite right when we look 17 years ahead, right up to the year 2005, and consider the concept of the country's socioeconomic development. When restoring the Leninist concept of the party it is even more necessary, even 2 years before the congress, to calmly discuss specific ways of carrying out revolutionary restructuring, democratization, reform of the political system, and so forth, and the pace of these processes.

This is particularly necessary because you cannot expect from democratization the immediate effect you get from taking a painkiller for a headache. Restructuring has already brought colossal positive results and they will continue to expand and deepen. This vast living experience must not only be digested and generalized but also enshrined in the statutes—the party's chief organizational document.

Preliminary discussion in the party press is also essential to prevent any recurrence of what happened time and again during the years of stagnation, when secret diligent efforts on the part of the apparatus decided beforehand what would and would not be included in the Central Committee's most important documents.

As a result of this, for example, **not a single idea** put forward by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum was included in the existing statutes. Every "new" thing of normative significance introduced into the statutes was elaborated before the 27th congress, during the Brezhnev-Chernenko period.

Maybe not everyone knows that the formulation of the guiding principle of the party's organizational structure—**democratic centralism**—which, with just one addition, persists in the statutes to this day was made by Stalin personally more than half a century ago. Party life came to a halt in 1934, as it were.

It is difficult to believe that at a time when the 27th congress made the great idea of socialist self-management by the people a direct practical task the provisions **requiring** party gorkoms and raykoms to develop voluntary principles in party work were removed from the statutes. The fine words "The party must advance and in the organization of its party life set an example and model... of communist social self-management" were also then dropped from the new edition of the program.

To avoid any repetition of these untoward events the party press must, in my view, begin discussing the vital tasks of party development long before the congress in an unhurried and calm manner.

I am convinced that the 28th congress will, after generalizing the enormous experience of revolutionary restructuring and the practice of democratizing Soviet society and reforming the political system, complete the restoration of the Leninist concept of the party and enshrine it in the statutes.

IZVESTIYA Readers Eye Reforms' Progress

PM0401104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

["Mailbag Review" by Yuriy Orlik, deputy editor of IZVESTIYA Readers' Letters Department: "The Most Important Topic"]

[Text] "The press must give coverage to what the people are thinking about," according to worker G. Sevrikov from Taganrog. We try. And our main support in this is provided by letters, by straight talk from the people.

There is probably no sphere of life, from politics through to daily routine matters, which readers do not cover in their letters. It is impossible to encapsulate in a 2-column review everything that thousands of people thought and wrote about to the editorial office during the year. Only the most important topics can be covered.

Without resorting to specialist analysis, it can be said with certainty that the key word in the editorial mailbag was restructuring. But it was used with increasing frequency in the following context. "Restructuring cannot be swiftly implemented, and people are fed up with waiting"—this is how Grigoryeva from Odessa raises what is probably the fundamental contradiction of our time. There is an explanation as to why changes seem to be taking time: We have to settle outstanding accounts and untangle knots tied in the past. But patience is really running out. "All my life I have believed in the correctness of the path chosen by our state," A. Osipov writes from the city of Uchaly in the Bashkir ASSR, "believing that difficulties are a temporary phenomenon; I was convinced that common sense would gain the upper hand over stupidity, if not today then tomorrow. This is how I lived to retire on pension." This faith cannot be subjected to any more tests. Restructuring needs real success, the earliest possible satisfaction of what one reader described as generally modest needs. Is this task feasible? It is, subject to one condition: Provided we do not limit ourselves to merely admitting that life cannot carry on in this way. Provided we extricate ourselves from the state of social apathy which made life so calm for the authorities. Provided that, while changing a lot in our political system and economic relations, we really ensure that the people and not the stewards [prikazchiki] are masters of what was conceived as a state of the people and was gained at the cost of so many trials and tribulations. There is no alternative.

Moving away from questions of routine labor and life, readers think and force us, in the editorial office, to think about "what sort of socialism have we built if, in the 7th decade of its existence, we have had to get down to restructuring" (L. Semina, teacher, Krasnoyarsk). The enthusiastic champions of our ideological virginal purity shudder when barracks-leveling, administrative socialism is opposed by "the new image of socialism"—democratic, economically accountable, humane. Their soul accepts socialism linked with the GULAG system, but rejects socialism linked with market relations and pluralism of opinions. "I would like to draw attention," V. Chernoryzh from Murmansk remarks, "to the fact that—in the opinion of Western Sovietologists—the Soviet system as established under Stalin cannot be radically changed. Socialism is unreformable, they claim. And our home-grown guardians of the keep second them."

The mailbag confirms the increased public interest in history. This is only natural: The present requires an interpretation of the past and its lessons. Discussions of the distant and recent past hardly ever manage to omit Stalin's name. It might seem as if everything about him has been said... "But the point is that not everything has been said," O. Shcherbina writes from Sverdlovsk. "It is a fact that back in the fifties and sixties, during the period of the 'thaw,' the people were not told and public awareness did not realize the entire and complete truth not only about the repressions but also about the actual mechanism of dictatorial power which produced them—and this went a long way toward choking the restructuring and renewal which were started at that time." Pondering the imprint left on our life and our minds by the personality cult, P. Vasilenko from Vinnitsa exclaims: "For how much longer will the spirit of Stalinism, this stubble on a dead man's chin, continue to suffocate our society and our people!" And even though the mailbag contains many letters full of nostalgia for Stalin's strongarm methods (the empty store shelves and the conflicts flaring up in some places only intensify this feeling), the de-Stalinization of society is nevertheless perceived by readers as one of our paramount tasks.

Much has already been done. Readers note with gratification that our society has become more open and better informed. There are fewer mysteries and secrets concealed from the people. "We have heard an honest admission that the country was on the brink of a crisis," L. Shapovalov writes from Leningrad, "that the burden of military expenditure is borne not only by foreign but also by our own working people, and that not everything said from the party rostrum represents the ultimate truth. At any rate, this no longer relieves us of the need to think."

The idea that changes in the country are unimaginable without changes within the party was repeated many times in letters, especially in the mail received just before the 19th all-union party conference. IZVESTIYA received about 6,000 letters at that time. Readers' thoughts centered on questions concerning the party's role and position in society and the principles of party leadership of social life. Readers noted that the party and

its top leadership were the initiators of post-April changes. But this was more a statement of fact than a recognition of merit. Many readers perceive M.S. Gorbachev's advent [prikhod] in the top post in the party as a lucky chance, "others had also tried on the general secretary's coat for size, as it were" (L. Zemlyanika, Brest). This is why the letters contain the demand to create within the party an atmosphere which would make it impossible for people like Brezhnev and Chernenko to come to the leadership. The structural transformations conceived by the party conference and being implemented in the party and our entire political system are the path leading to this goal. A difficult path. What is, after all, being decided is the question of redistribution of power, of transition from predominantly edict-based methods to political methods of leadership. And this is what is applying the brakes.

"The apparatchiks are in raptures: Oh, what a frank discussion developed at the party conference," to quote from the letter by O. Yefremov from Novosibirsk. "One can understand them, since they have been taught for decades that what is said from the rostrum is one thing and what is on the mind is something different. But the masses were never entangled in verbal cobwebs, telling the truth is something normal for them. And so, to tell the truth, it is impossible not to notice that certain aspects of the present are reminiscent of the familiar past: searing criticism of the old leadership and indulgent criticism of the present, recurrences of total agreement and unanimity, of semi-glasnost, of virtually the identical principles of cadre rotation in the top echelons." "The near future could bring intensified resistance to change from some party leaders," according to S. Timchenko from Magnitogorsk. "They have sensed that they may not get reelected. And who would wish to lose his position in the nomenklatura?"

Readers raise the problem of the party's mutual relations with nonparty people and of the leadership's accountability to the people, without avoiding any contentious issues. "For far too long our bureaucracy, including the party and Soviet bureaucracy, has been unmanageable from above and uncontrollable from below," according to V. Potemkin from Tashkent ("nonparty person, engineer, born in 1951"). "Everything has to do with the working people," A. Mikhaylov from Voronezh Oblast's Ramonskiy Rayon writes. "It is their country, their system, their society. They are the masters. Party organizations and cadres are there to serve the people, the entire party is there to serve the people. Not the other way around."

Another solid block of mail is to do with interethnic relations. It was long before the Sumgait tragedies, before the appearance of tanks in the streets of Armenian and Azerbaijani cities, long before the stop-action organized by the Lithuanian "Sayudis," before the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session which exceeded its powers and riveted public opinion on the problem of republics' sovereignty, that our readers drew attention to the extremely delicate and simultaneously explosive sphere of interethnic relations. Toasts in honor of unbreakable friendship and assertions about "alignment" and "fusion" testified to just one thing—the absence of a serious nationalities policy and unwillingness to take into account realities, the fact that our people's moral and political unity is largely a soporific propaganda myth and that society is subject to not only centripetal but also centrifugal forces. The further development of events confirmed the correctness of these readers' opinions, making it necessary to pay a high price for the disregard of nationalities problems. At the same time, the letters warned against attempts to solve emerging conflicts by repressive measures, "using militia squads."

Very often, readers' letters turned to an analysis of the work of the mass media themselves. "With your help we have managed to reduce the amount of applause, in which we led the world, and to increase the amount of criticism... Carry on, please," S. Zvenigorodskaya wrote from Chelyabinsk. "Come on now, don't pretend that by inaugurating a 'Letters Not for Publication' rubric you have created a Speakers' Corner in the newspapers," M. Sinchuk from Stavropol told us. "Permitted boldness, allowed glasnost..." Some of our other readers are less caustic. V. Antonenko from Tashkent assumes that access to newspaper pages must be available also to those "who uphold a viewpoint that differs from the official one." "Let us judge their opinions for ourselves," he writes. "Don't be in a hurry to tag an orthodox editorial commentary onto an article by a dissident."

This issue will reach 600,000 new IZVESTIYA subscribers. We would like to thank them, as well as our old readers and fans, for their trust in the newspaper, which is now published in a print run of 11 million, and to cordially wish them well in the New Year.

Muscovites Polled by Gallup on 1989 Expectations

PM0301162389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Andreyenkov, chief of department at the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute: "Muscovites Forecast. The Traditional Gallup Institute Poll"]

[Text] This was the second time the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute took part in the traditional New Year poll organized annually by the Gallup Institute in 40 countries in the world. The poll in the Soviet Union was conducted among Moscow's adult population (18 years or older) using the telephone interview method. A total of 577 persons were polled, representing all basic age and social groups of the capital's population. The purpose of answers to two traditional questions, repeated each year, is to assess how citizens in different countries perceive the New Year compared with the previous one.

Here, for example, is how residents of the United States, Britain, the FRG, and Japan replied to the questionnaire during the previous poll. (Figures represent percentage of the total number of those polled.):

Question 1. In your opinion, will the New Year compared with last year be: Better than, worse than, or the same as last year?

[Columns in the following table represent: Column A the United States; Column B Britain; Column C the FRG; Column D Japan]

	A	B	C	D
Better	56	49	27	24
Worse	8	25	56	48
The same	25	20	11	8
Don't know	11	6	7	20

Question 2. In your opinion, will the New Year compared with last year be a year of: Economic prosperity, economic hardship, or the same as last year?

	FRG	Japan
Economic prosperity	3	9
The same	56	43
Economic hardship	31	29
Don't know	10	19

And now the results of the latest poll in Moscow (also in percentages of the total number of persons polled). So, 1989 compared with 1988:

Question 1.

Better	55 percent
The same	19 percent
Worse	14 percent
Don't know	12 percent

Question 2.

The same	18 percent
Economic hardship	52 percent
Don't know	18 percent

Specialist's Commentary

Compared with the previous similar poll of Muscovites, there has been a certain decline in the percentage of persons polled who are optimistic about the coming year (from 70 percent to 55 percent) and who forecast economic prosperity (from 22 percent 1 year ago to 12 percent at the time of the latest poll). At first glance, this might appear a harbinger of growing skepticism as regards restructuring and even of declining hopes linked with restructuring. There are, of course, grounds for such an interpretation of the poll's results. But let us recall the first 2 years of restructuring. Many people at that time were in the grips of euphoria, there was an expectation of immediate successes and instantaneous economic miracle. Hence the 70 percent who at that time, back in 1987, felt that 1988 would certainly be better. It must be noted: A year ago the large number of optimists in our country looked like a unique phenomenon against the background of the poll's results in other countries. This indicator was significantly lower throughout the world. The picture has become more stable now. Growing awareness of the fact that instantaneous prosperity cannot be achieved, that restructuring is a process calculated in years and demanding major and prolonged efforts by the whole of society, has prompted Muscovites to take a more restrained and realistic look at the future.

Readers would probably wish to know what differences were revealed by sociologists among the basic social groups of the population. There is hardly any substantial difference between the opinions of men and women. The most optimism in answering the first question was displayed by young people. Some 58 percent of polled persons under 30 years of age believe that the New Year will be better, with only 6 percent believing that it will be worse. The most pessimistic age group was that of persons between 40 and 50 years of age (the answers were 50 percent and 21 percent respectively), with Muscovites between 30 and 40 years of age being the most pessimistic in answering the second question. Only 5 percent of them forecast economic prosperity, with 64 percent forecasting economic hardships. From the viewpoint of education, the group that stands out the most is that of polled persons with incomplete secondary education: The majority, 62 percent, are optimistic about 1989. This group contains almost ½ the number of persons forecasting economic hardships in the New Year compared with the group of polled persons with higher standards of education.

Formation of USSR Considered on Anniversary

Editorial on 'Unification'

PM0301193389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Day of USSR's Formation—30 December: Our Common Home"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Restructuring, glasnost, and the democratization of our society have considerably boosted Soviet people's activeness. The overwhelming majority of them support the ideas of renewing all spheres of our life, including the sphere of interethnic relations, that have been put forward by the party. The return to Leninist principles on the equality and sovereignty of every republic and the broadening of their

independence—these are questions that are being put forward by life itself today. The upcoming party Central Committee plenum devoted to interethnic relations will examine them more concretely and in greater depth.

It must be said that the preparations for this plenum are taking place under difficult conditions. The difficulties with regard to Nagorno-Karabakh and processes in other regions of the country show how sensitive the issues of ethnic life have become. The discussion of these questions is revealing a great diversity of approaches and opinions, which is natural. Misgivings can also be heard: Supposing these rallies and debates have shaken our achievements. Would it not be more correct to say the following: This is the life of our country and we need to find a truth here on which everyone will agree.

It cannot be denied that many people who are not skilled in debating either avoid debate or give in to all manner of accusations against non-Russian ethnic groups. Having raised a number of fundamentally just questions, for instance, regarding the omnipotence of departments in their republics and demographic distortions and their adverse consequences, other enthusiastic supporters of ethnic interests display intolerance verging on extremism.

All mankind's experience shows that the main path of development lies in unification [yedineniye]. Is it not a fact that opponents in quite recent wars are today seeking and finding ways of mutually beneficial integration and are building bridges of mutual understanding, overcoming or pulling down the old barriers of hostility and political and other prejudice?

The processes of the unification of peoples and mutual enrichment of their experience and cultures are to an equal and even a greater degree in the spirit of our system, our union.

The current transformations in the economy and the political system of society are opening up new prospects before them.

Every Soviet people must occupy a fitting place in this. There will be enough room for everyone in our common home.

'Bad Side' of Glasnost Noted

PM0301140589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "Letters to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "The USSR Is Our Common Home"]

[Text] Even a few years ago we would have begun this address to the reader with a list of the successes achieved by the union republics belonging to a united family of fraternal peoples. And no one would have thought that USSR Day could be marked in any other way. Incidentally, even today it is not superfluous to recall that Soviet people, united by common aims in building a socialist state and having overcome no few obstacles en route—the hunger and devastation after the civil war, the mortal danger of the fascist invasion, the postwar difficulties, and all kinds of deviations from Lenin's policy of building socialism—have in the past decades made their ship, bearing only the four letters USSR on its side, into a leader of the world community. The fresh wind of revolutionary restructuring and renewal has filled its sails today and sped it onward...

But glasnost, openness, and the democratization of society—those motive forces of restructuring—have not only speeded up our progress but have helped expose corrosion and cancers in the body of our common ship and home, which developed as a result of deviation from Leninist principles in nationalities policy and breaches of legality in the period of the personality cult and through the ideology and mentality of stagnation. The declaration over many years that interethnic relations were problem-free, the absolutization of results, and inadequate regard paid to the socioeconomic and cultural development of certain regions and their environmental problems have made themselves felt very acutely today. People have begun to talk about them openly.

And this is undoubtedly a good thing. The bad side is that political extremists, corrupt pseudodefenders of national traditions who are losing power under restructuring, and smart operators who harm the international unity of the Soviet peoples have begun exploiting our shortcomings and omissions. The events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh in Transcaucasia and the manifestations of nationalism in the Baltic republics and certain other regions of the country have caused people deep concern. And it is no coincidence that the problem of interethnic relations was one of the predominant ones discussed at the 19th all-union party conference, which was held in full view of the entire country. The conference delegates in their resolution on this problem considered that "the persistent assertion and creative development of Leninist norms and principles in nationalities policy, resolutely cleansed of artificial accretions and deformations, constitute a task of historic importance. The political course elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress, combining satisfaction of the interests of all nations and ethnic groups with the common interests and needs of the country and an internationalist ideology incompatible with any kind of chauvinism or nationalism, form the basis of this."

We deemed it necessary to recall this tenet once again because certain "leaders" who proffer nationalistic slogans are trying to use these very party conference decisions as a cover.

Our international fraternity has stood the test posed by the tragedy in Armenia during those grim December days. And we saw again the bonds of that fraternity grow

still stronger during those days of inconsolable grief, and we saw once again what strength our united motherland possesses and how important it is to safeguard and strengthen it.

All working people are becoming more active and our union, which today commemorates its formation, is becoming more durable in the course of political reform, the establishment of democracy and glasnost, and preparation for the election of USSR people's deputies. And union, as we understand it, to use the words uttered by M.S. Gorbachev on the final day of the 12th USSR Supreme Soviet Session, means all the republics taken together, their joint interest and collective, will which no single member of our federation can disregard. It means all of us who live together in a single common home.

'Value' of National Cultures

PM0301105789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "Today Is USSR Formation Day": "Unbreakable Union of Peoples"]

[Text] At the height of the civil war, under conditions of the young Soviet state's most fierce struggle against counterrevolutionary forces, V.I. Lenin wrote with an eye to the future: "We want a VOLUNTARY union of nations—a union which will allow no violence by one nation against another, a union founded on the fullest trust, on clear awareness of fraternal unity, on completely voluntary consent." Three years later a new, historically unprecedented state formation—the USSR—was born.

The Soviet Union was the living embodiment of the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy. In a historically short time a unified, integral national economic complex took shape in the country, modern industry was created in the once economically backward regions, detachments of the national working class and intelligentsia were formed, the spiritual potential of the socialist nations and ethnic groups was enhanced, and national consciousness was growing.

At the same time serious deviations from Leninist principles have occurred in the course of national building: Insufficient account was taken, for example, of the economic interests and cultural requirements of individual republics, autonomous formations, and national groups. Recurring painful problems in the sphere of national relations inherited from Stalinist times have remained unresolved for decades. In certain regions internationalist education has been lax. All this troubles our readers.

The April wind of change could not fail to affect national relations in the country. The idea of "regional economic accountability" designed to overcome the diktat of central departments and to make the level of the material, social, and cultural security of republics and autonomous formations dependent on how efficiently people in a given region work is gaining in strength. However, the increase in economic independence must not, of course, turn into economic isolation, which is contrary to the objective trends of socialist development.

The democratization of social life and the increasing role of the soviets in the political system of the USSR are also being realized at the level of republics and autonomous formations. The national-political structure must be flexible and able to react to all reasonable national needs, resolving possible contradictions and harmonizing the interests of different groups of the population.

Each national culture is an object of great value. Therefore it is inadmissible when the entire diversity of people's spiritual needs is ignored. But a healthy interest in everything of value in each national culture must not develop into its uncritical acceptance or, still less, into denigration of another's culture. Multinationality under conditions of socialism has been and must be a source of the peoples' development and mutual spiritual enrichment.

There are also many problems in the sphere of efficiently ensuring national-Russian bilingualism. Our country's peoples voluntarily chose Russian as a means of interethnic communication. Unfortunately, the teaching of Russian in certain republics suffers from major shortcomings: There is sometimes a shortage of textbooks and qualified teachers. Study of the national language is also poorly organized locally. But there can be no trifles in such a delicate matter as interethnic relations.

The shaping and strengthening of internationalist convictions is not an automatic process. Each new generation of Soviet people goes through a school of internationalism under new historical conditions. Therefore there are no problems solved once and for all here. Not to be seduced by the successes achieved but, above all, to be ready to raise and resolve the most acute questions—this is the task of public organizations and the mass media. The friendship of the peoples is our common asset which must be strengthened and augmented.

Gennadiy Gerasimov Describes Spokesman's Role

PM0301134189 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 30 Dec 88 pp 26-27

[Interview with 'Soviet spokesman' Gennadiy Gerasimov by Raghidah Dirgham in New York; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] AL-HAWADITH: Do you believe that your U.S. experience played a role in the Foreign Ministry's decision to select you as a spokesman to promote Soviet polices in the U.S. arena?

Gerasimov: I do not know. But probably my being a television personality in Moscow at the time played a part. Or perhaps it had to do with my appearance on the "Night Line" program here in the United States 8 or 10

years ago. I do not really know; probably my being a known personality at the time contributed to my selection for that position. [passage omitted]

AL-HAWADITH: As Foreign Ministry spokesman, what are your priorities in terms of Soviet policy?

Gerasimov: My priority concern is with the press reporters in Moscow—all 470 of them. They have numerous problems: They need accommodation as well as facilities. I also have to furnish the embassies abroad with the necessary information, because local reporters turn to the embassy in the appropriate capital. The embassies want to know what is happening in Moscow. So we provide them with the information which is not provided by the press—a major task.

AL-HAWADITH: By my question I mean the priorities of Soviet foreign policy which you want to promote. Is it the relationship with the United States? Or is it the Asian front and developments in the relationship with China? And, though I do not think it is at the forefront of priorities, is the policy on the Middle East among them?

Gerasimov: This depends on the nature of the stage. For instance, these days our attention is focused on Asia, especially after Shevardnadze's visit to Japan and his meeting with the Chinese foreign minister, who was visiting Moscow for the first time in many years. So China and Japan are the focus of our attention at the moment. But this does not mean that we are neglecting Europe, for instance. Nearly all the European leaders have visited us over the past few weeks. So it is difficult to answer your question, simply because our foreign policy varies. At a UN press conference a colleague of yours asked about our policy on Africa. We cannot meet everybody's wishes. Shevardnadze was the first Soviet foreign minister to visit Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil. So we are trying to be everywhere.

AL-HAWADITH: If we are to list priorities, can we list them in the following order: bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations, relations with China and Japan, Europe, and then the rest of the world?

Gerasimov: No. That is wrong. We do not deal with these matters all together. Why should we develop Soviet-U.S. relations at the expense of Soviet-French relations, for instance? No. There are some envious U.S. observers who claim that we want to expand our influence in Western Europe at the Americans' expense—which is idle talk. What we want is simply to develop relations of amity and friendship with everyone ... with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, for instance. Why not? Why don't we exchange embassies with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia?

AL-HAWADITH: Assuming that exchanging embassies with the Saudi Arabian kingdom was a Soviet objective and decision, how would you handle the issue as an official spokesman?

Gerasimov: I would raise the issue. For instance, I would hold a daily press seminar in Moscow via which I would make some statements drafted by the appropriate quarters—if a statement has to do with our position on Palestine, it can be dealt with by the ministry's Middle East Department. But my department and I myself can contribute to the adoption of positions. No one imposes control over us or influences what we do.

AL-HAWADITH: So you enjoy political authority.

Gerasimov: Yes. But within the boundaries of my position. For instance, as I am familiar with stances, I can redraft them so as to suit my own style.

AL-HAWADITH: Has your personal interpretation of an official stand ever caused any problems?

Gerasimov: Sometimes in the past, but not now. People have gotten used to it now. [passage omitted]

Lukyanov Presents Awards in Kremlin 4 Jan

LD0401113289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Comrade Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Presidium, today in the Kremlin conferred awards on a group of front-ranking production workers and cultural figures. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government Comrade Lukyanov warmly congratulated the award-winners and wished them new successes in their work.

Kiev Gorkom Conference Discusses Tasks

AU0301105089 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Dec 88 p 1-3

[RATAU report: "Mastering Political Methods of Leadership, Striving for Practical Results"]

[Excerpts] As reported, Kiev Gorkom has held an accountability and election conference. The delegates discussed a gorkom report and the tasks of the gorkom in deepening restructuring in line with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, as well as a report by the auditing commission. [passage omitted]

The conference was addressed by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary.

The conference delegates paid tribute with a minute of silence to the memory of the victims of the natural disaster in the Armenian SSR.

The conference elected a new gorkom and gorkom's auditing commission. At an organizational plenum K.I. Masik was elected Kiev Gorkom first secretary; S.M. Martynyuk was elected second secretary; and Yu.V. Kilimnik, N.N. Sergeyev, and A.A. Sivak, secretaries.

The plenum proceedings were attended by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; and V.I. Shimko, Socioeconomic Department chief in the CPSU Central Committee.

At a plenum of the auditing commission, V.V. Dankov was elected the commission's chairman; A.A. Stolyar, first deputy chairman; and A.I. Tarasenko, deputy chairman.

Participating in the auditing commission's plenum proceedings were: V.A. Ivashko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary; and A.A. Nizovtseva, deputy chairman of the Bureau of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

New Kamchatka Obkom First Secretary on Problems

LD0401111489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] The report-back and election party conferences in the Far East are nearly complete. Correspondent Vladimir Kuchin tells us about the work of the 24th Kamchatka Oblast party conference:

[Kuchin] No previous conference of recent years, or perhaps even of recent decades, has passed in such heat of party principledness and unrestricted pluralism of opinion. And not one delegate either wished or could have stayed on the sidelines or kept his words to himself during the adoption of most important decisions. In the view of many delegates, the report of the party obkom which was delivered by the former first secretary, Comrade Reznikov, did not reflect the essence of the problems accumulated during the long years of stagnation. It was also from the traditional position of "more from the bosses and less from the workers" that the list of the new composition of the party obkom was formed. It seems that the main reason for the fresh election is that in the "land of fishermen's glory" it is the fishermen of Kamchatka who have the worst living conditions. Many problems have built up in the fisheries. Nobody needs housing more than the seamen. As it happens, what the report had to say on this score was very vague.

Pavel Pavlovich Zinovyev, the new first secretary of the Kamchatka CPSU Obkom, is interviewed.

How do the new membership of the bureau and you as first secretary of the obkom intend to change things in the leading sector of the economy in Kamchatka?

[Zinovyev] Kamchatka is regarded as the country's fisheries workshop. In gross production of industrial output, the fishing sector persistently accounts for 83 percent, while the planning of the entire fishing industry is built on an unstable basis—on forecasts and limits.

The limits are determined by questions of preserving the Kamchatka shelf. The fishing sector here is part of Dalryba, the basin production association. Dalryba today has an economic diktat, whereas the law on the enterprise gives us independence. The diktat of the Dalryba all-union production association runs counter to the law on the enterprise in the fishing industry and the fishermen are up in arms against it. It so happened that we have passed a resolution specially on the situation which has arisen in the fishing sector of our peninsula, where we noted that a critical situation has come about in Kamchatka's fishing industry and everyone unanimously took the decision to send it to the Politburo. And, of course, we want the implementation of the social program for the development of the Far East. Twenty-five percent of those working in the fishing industry—50,000 people—need improved housing.

Oblast Party Conferences Elect New Obkoms

AU0301100589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Dec 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "At Oblast Party Conferences"]

[Text] The results of the work done in the period under review and the tasks to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference were discussed at accountability and election conferences held on 22-23 December in Vinnitsa, Dnepropetrovsk, Kirovograd, Odessa, and Chernovtsy Obkoms.

The conference proceedings were attended and addressed by V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, in Dnepropetrovsk; I.G. Grintsov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, in Kirovograd; I.A. Gerasimov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, in Vinnitsa; and S.I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary, in Odessa.

The conference in Chernovtsy was addressed by Ye.R. Chulakov, Agrarian Department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

I.A. Larin, Public Law Department chief in the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the conference proceedings in Odessa.

Participating in the conference proceedings were also other responsible officials of the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees, as well as leaders

of a number of ministries and departments. Representatives of party organizations within labor collectives from CEMA member countries, participating in the construction of the Krivoy Rog oxidized ore mining and concentrating combine (Dolinskaya town), were invited to the Kirovograd Oblast party conference.

New obkom and obkoms' auditing commissions were elected.

Obkom plenums were held to examine organizational issues.

In Vinnitsa, A.P. Nekhayevskiy was elected obkom first secretary; V.P. Ryabokon was elected second secretary; and G.Ya. Burtyak, S.G. Khutchenko, and A.M. Tsarenko, secretaries.

In Dnepropetrovsk, N.K. Zadoya was elected obkom first secretary; N.G. Omelchenko was elected second secretary; and I.T. Kozak, A.A. Mironenko, and B.A. Safonov, secretaries.

In Kirovograd, N.I. Samilyk was elected obkom first secretary; Ye. V. Marmazov was elected second secretary; and V.I. Myasnyankin, S.M. Shapikina, and V.M. Shcherbina, secretaries.

In Odessa, G.K. Kryuchkov was elected obkom first secretary; N.M. Snigirev was elected second secretary; and R.B. Bodelan, M.G. Galich, and I.A. Klepachev, secretaries.

In Chernovtsy, N.N. Nivalov was elected obkom first secretary; N.M. Revenko was elected second secretary; and S.I. Barakovetskaya, M.I. Ivanesko, and V.P. Motovilin, secretaries.

The conference delegates paid tribute with a minute of silence to the memory of the victims of the natural disaster in the Armenian SSR.

Nakhichevan Obkom Secretaries Elected

NC0301080689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 3 Jan 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The KOMMUNIST published a report which its special correspondent Tel'man Aliyev sent from the conference held by the Nakhichevan Obkom. Comrade (?Palyanichko), second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the convocation. (?Bilenko), a responsible functionary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the work of the conference.

The Nakhichevan Obkom, which was elected by secret ballot, held its first plenum. Geydar Isayev was elected as first secretary of the Nakhichevan Obkom, Aleksander Baluchin as second secretary, and Resmira Nadzhadova as secretary.

Metropolitan Elected to Electoral Body

LD3112170388 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 31 TASS—Metropolitan Vladimir of Rostov and Novocherkassk, the patriarchal exarch of Western Europe, has become the first representative of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR, STROITELNAYA GAZETA reported on Saturday.

"Previously, too, religious figures could be elected deputies or members of electoral commissions. Legislation did not prohibit that. But there had been no precedent," the metropolitan said in an interview with the newspaper's correspondent.

"Article 39 of the newly adopted law on elections specifies that public organisations may nominate any member of theirs, including religious figures".

Metropolitan Vladimir was elected to the central Electoral Commission from the Soviet Charity and Health Foundation. At the same time he represents the church as well.

"At the latest session of the Holy Synod under the chairmanship of Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia, we formulated our judgement about the opportunities opening up before religious figures to be nominated and elected people's deputies and about the participation of clergy in the work of central and other electoral commissions", the metropolitan stated.

"The church blessed the activities of its representatives in this respect, expressing confidence that this will be for the benefit of believers and of our entire society".

Azerbaijan Party Meeting on Candidates

LD3012202188 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Baku December 30 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijani Communist Party analysed on Friday proposals of party organisations of this Soviet Transcaucasian republic on possible candidates to USSR people's deputies from the Soviet Communist Party.

The plenary meeting submitted for the consideration of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee a proposal of the Azerbaijani Communist Party on nominating as candidates to USSR people's deputies the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Pyusta Azizbekova, director of the

Azerbaijani historical museum and member of the republican Academy of Sciences, and Guseyn Ibragimov, a driller from the off-shore oil extraction department.

Participants in the plenary meeting approved the text of a joint appeal of the Central Committees of the Azerbaijani and Armenian Communist Parties, the presidiums of the supreme soviets and the councils of ministers of the two republics to people who had fled the places of their permanent residence.

Lukyanov Proposed as People's Deputy in Armenia
LD3112141988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan—The Communists of the "Lyuks" experimental shoe factory at a party meeting have proposed Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, as a USSR candidate people's deputy from the CPSU.

Turkmenistan Party Nominates Niyazov as Deputy
LD0201141789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Excerpt] An expanded session of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined proposals from the republic's party organization regarding possible candidates for USSR people's deputies from the CPSU. Twenty-three nominees from the primary raykom and obkom party organizations and plenums were discussed.

The Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau submitted Comrade Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee as a nominee for USSR people's deputy from the CPSU to the CPSU Central Committee. [pasage omitted]

Baklanov Addresses Sverdlovsk Meeting
PM0301154789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report carried under the rubric "Reports and Elections in the Party": "Without Cutting Corners"]

[Text] A critical analysis of the state of affairs, exactingness, and a precise charting of the paths for solving current tasks—these tasks were fully characteristic of the 25th Sverdlovsk Oblast report and election party conference held 23-24 December, at which Communists conducted a profound and detailed discussion concerning restructuring and the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the work of the conference.

The accountability report delivered by L.F. Bobykin, first secretary of the CPSU Obkom, noted that carrying out the economic reform, the democratization of public life, and the development of the social sphere are the main directions of the activity of the 273,000-strong detachment of Sverdlovsk Oblast Communists. Proceeding from this, many party gorkoms and raykoms have appreciably stepped up their work. The glasnost of party work and its enterprising nature have been increased under the new conditions. Many party organizations of Sverdlovsk, Asbest, Pervouralsk, and other cities and rayons of the oblast are seeking and finding their own ways of intensifying party influence on restructuring processes precisely through enterprising approaches.

At the same time, the keynote speaker and those who spoke in the debate—I.I. Stroganov, director general of the Uralmash Production Association; V.A. Yarin, operator of a metal rolling mill at the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine; V.I. Gromov, turner at the Verkhnyaya Salda metallurgical production association; T.P. Katyreva, chief economist at the Manchazhskiy sovkhoz, and others—emphasized that by no means all party committees have succeeded in producing any new experience of political and organizational activity. Many limited themselves to the merely formal aspect of this activity. In this connection criticism was to be heard of the Ivdel, Krasnouralsk, and other party organizations. The delegates spoke of the need to examine in greater detail the problems of providing ideological support for restructuring, and to resolutely expose demagogues and those who are living on difficulties as parasites.

The conference was addressed by O.D. Baklanov. The chief distinguishing feature of the present report and election campaign, he said, is the fact that it is taking place under the infleunce of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The main theme is the radical change in the style of work. It is primarily a question of intensifying the political thrust in the activity of the party committees and primary party organizations, of avoiding the supplanting of economic organs, of exercising an influence of matters through Communists who are in charge of specific sectors of work, and of reliance on the party aktiv. The performance of this work is subordinated to the aim of rousing all the people to restructuring and achieving a situation whereby the implementation of the transformations and plans outlined by the party become a vital issue for each Soviet person.

Many people, the speaker said, have formed the impression that all the forthcoming changes will take place entirely to the accompaniment of "plus" signs. Impatience is increasing, and a considerable proportion of people have proved unprepared for the inevitable difficulties which always attend any revolutionary transformation. Capital repairs have begun in our common home, and for some time to come one will have to put up with inconveniences. In this situation it is important to step up party-political work even more and to constantly retain the initiative in the hands of party organizations

and develop their activity on a broader scale along the main avenues of restructuring. Priority must be given here to work with cadres. Broad sections of the working people must be persuaded of the correctness of the chosen path and everyone must be helped in finding his place in the restructuring, and the psychology of the cadres must be radically altered—this is the main condition for our progression forward, one of the basic tasks of party work.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary devoted much attention to problems of the radical improvement of food supplies, the solution of housing tasks, and fully supplying the market with diverse goods and services. He stressed that these are now the sorest spots. Yet meanwhile the food program adopted in the oblast for the period through 1990 is not being fulfilled. The average annual growth rates for the basic types of agricultural products are running considerably behind those planned.

In terms of the per capita consumption of food products, Sverdlovsk Oblast surpasses neighboring oblasts and autonomous republics. This situation has taken shape to a considerable degree because of the deliveries of meat and dairy products from state resources. The state's subsidies to the consumption funds amounts to 50 percent for meat and 45 percent for milk. It is not realistic to count on their further growth. It is necessary to make fuller use of the oblast's own potential.

Here the efforts of the oblast party organization must be directed toward the intensification of agricultural production in every way. After all, grain crop yields averaging between 25 and 30 quintals per hectare, and milk yields averaging 4,000 kg per cow are perfectly feasible for the oblast. Such an increase in productivity would make it possible to ease considerably the acute food supply situation. It is essential to energetically develop the population's personal plots, industrial enterprises' subsidiary farms, and collective horticulture and truck farming. The people of Sverdlovsk Oblast came in for many reproaches in this connection. Could it have been otherwise if personal subsidiary plots are neglected almost everywhere? The livestock population on these plots is constantly declining. Today the proportion of plots held by the rural population of Svedlovsk Oblast which have no livetock on them is the highest among all oblasts in the Urals area. Personal holdings of livestock are essentially being reduced to zero. The subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises are developing poorly. There are almost 1,000 major enterprises in the oblast but only about 400 subsidiary farms.

The social sphere leaves a great deal to be desired. The Sverdlovsk Oblast countryside has an acute need for roads, modern housing, hospitals, and kindergartens—in a word, everything that city dwellers now have. The agro-industrial complex cannot cope with all the problems by itself. To tackle these problems it is important to mobilize the powerful industrial potential that is available and not to lose a single opportunity that would enable the population to sense a change for the better.

Speaking of the switch to new conditions of economic acitvity, O.D. Baklanov stressed that the main thing is to learn to live within one's means and to actively introduce economic accountability relations and rectify the financial situation of the economy. The prime task is to achieve a situation whereby there are no loss-making enterprises. There are, of course, many difficulties. Moreover it is now necessary to divert considerable appropriations for the restoration of devastated cities and villages in fraternal Armenia. These difficulties are also exacerbated by the fact that it is necssary to eliminate the grave consequences here in the oblast at the Sverdlovsk-Sortirovochnaya Station. But despite everything, the plans for housing construction must be fulfilled completely. The own-resources method of building is one of the possibilities, and it must be enegetically developed. Those who need housing must also be enlisted on a broad scale in this work.

Concerning the provision of the population with consumer goods, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed that it is possible to fully supply the market with nonfood goods if the annual rate of increase in their production is raised by a factor of 1.5 and if the range is considerably expanded. Unfortunately, in an oblast with a mighty industrial potential it is planned to increase the output of nonfood goods in accordance with the "Goods and Services" program only by 24.5 percent by the year 1990. Such a pace, of course, will not solve the problems.

Or take th development of the cooperative movement, where there are also many disruptions. Often people are justifiably indignant at patent distortions in such an important matter as this. Can one really reconcile oneself to the fact that with a considerably lower output norm in a cooperative which makes, for instance, raincoats, the average earnings are twice as high as at a state enterprise? The local soviets must keep a strict eye on what kind of cooperatives are being set up and where. We need cooperatives that will help the state rather than ruin the people.

Talk turned later to the broader enlistment of enterprises of the defense sector in the production of consumer goods and for the manufacture of the necessary equipment for the light and food industry.

Among other problems the ecological problem is now attracting the greatest attention. This is not fortuitous because insufficient use is still being made in the oblast of the experience of introducing progressive, ecologically clean technologies. Unfortunately the role of science is not being felt in the solution of local nature conservation problems. This is at a time when 24,000 scientific workers are at work in the oblast, of which 20 are academicians.

In the current year a number of ministries, jointly with the oblast party and soviet organs, have devised measures to reduce industrial discharges in the period 1989-1990 and for the 13th 5-Year Plan. All the same, the schedules outlined for such work are being frustrated or are being pursued far behind the specified times. Meanwhile the absence of the necessary organizational and educational work is creating fertile soil for the activity of extremist groups and for sensational fabrications.

In Svedlovsk Oblast there are many reserves for the solution of ecological problems, the most important of which is the transition from stances of making demands and issuing criticism to practical participation in specific work.

The social organization of the economy can be carried out, and many other problems can be resolved only on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. However, recently questions of scientific and technical progress have retreated in the oblast into the background, as it were, as can be seen from the keynote report and many other speeches. Of course, there have indeed been certain successes on the part of the Sverdlovsk machine-building complex. But one should not labor under any delusions because the proportion of equipment furnished with microelectronics is negligibly small. Hence the low productivity of technological processes. This is yet another of the serious tasks for the oblast party committee to be elected at this conference.

It is essential to make skillful use of those spiritual values which the oblast has at its disposal. What a great impression is produced, for instance, by the remarkable War Museum, and the exhibitions of works by talented local people, O.D. Baklanov said. One needs not only to delve into history in the search for sensation, but also to utilize our truly heroic history and culture. Precisely this must become the basis for the education of people, and above all the rising generation.

The organizational plenum of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom which took place after the conference elected L.F. Bobykin as first secretary of the party obkom.

O.D. Baklanov was in Sverdlovsk Oblast 20-24 December. During meetings with workers, production organizers, and scientists at enterprises which he visited, there was a discussion of economic and social problems, the development of democracy and glasnost, and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. At the M.I. Kalinin Mashinostroitelnyy Zavod Science and Production Association, measures were discussed for introducing new resource-saving technologies into production and for increasing the production of consumer goods.

A concerned discussion took place in the shops of the Nizhnyy Tagil Uralvagonzavod production association—the biggest producer of railcars in the country. Rich experience has been accumulated here of running a subsidiary farm. This labor collective, which is well known in the country, obtains additionally each year 460 tons of meat, 150 tons of fish, and 400 tons of vegetables. Losses have been virtually eliminated in this agrarian production shop insofar as both a powerful refrigerated store and a potato storage facility with a capacity of 5,000 tons are reliably operating here. An important factor is that the party and trade union organizations of the enterprise and its leaders are full of new ideas for further increasing the production of meat and vegetables so as to make best possible provision of these for the plant's workers.

Uralmash is not only famous for its unique products. Its chief asset is the work force, its experience, and its knowledge. Much is being done at the enterprise to improve labor conditions. In the cleaning shop O.D. Baklanov praised the equipment, which not only has made it possible to work in normal conditions but also to increase labor productivity several times over. At the same time it was noted that the workers of Uralmash are clearly developing their subsidiary farm only feebly. Many problems of housing construction are being resolved only slowly here.

When examining the social and consumer services complex at the Novotrubnyy Plant in Pervouralsk, where food and industrial goods stores, a hairdressing salon, a tailoring shop, and a knitwear shop provide services for the collective, emphasis was placed on the good initiative in organizing an architecural and planning workshop, which has taken it upon itself to tackle many tasks of the draft planning and building of apartment blocks and sociocultural projects for the plant's work force.

The leaders of the Verkhnepyshminskiy sovkhov told the CPSU Central Committee secretary that it is precisely attention to the individual that has made it possible for the formerly loss-making sovkhoz to become highly profitable. To no small degree this has been facilitated by the erection of a cultural and sports complex. Young and old alike now spend their leisure time here, some in amateur talent circles or sports sections, and the older folk at evening gatherings—this practice having been revived and now readily accepted.

During his stay in the industrial oblast, the CPSU Central Committee secretary saw many such examples of this. Priority is now being given mainly to human needs and requirements. At the Sverdlovsk-Sortirovochnaya Station Comrade Baklanov inquired about the progress of work on restoring the housing devastated by the explosion which everyone remembers with regret. In the immediate future 2,300 families of the victims will move into new apartments here.

Many interesting conversations took place in the museums and other cultural establishments of the city. Gratitude was expressed for their great educational work.

On his tour of the oblast, O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by L.F. Bobykin, first secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom, and V.M. Vlasov, chairman of the oblispolkom.

*Estonia's Otsason on Council of Ministers' Views

WA18200113 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with R. Otsason, deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the republic's gosplan, and doctor of economic sciences, by L. Sher: "What Is Hidden Behind 'Integration'"]

[Text] On 21 November, central television carried the press conference of Yu. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of USSR Gosstroy, on the problems of housing construction and construction of facilities for social and cultural services. One of the foreign journalists put a question in the press conference about the recent discussion in the USSR Council of Ministers of Estonia's proposals concerning the problems of republic cost accounting (khozraschet). Yu. Batalin replied that he had not taken part in the conference held by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and therefore information could be supplied by N. Nazarbayev, chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, who was sitting alongside him. The gist of the answer was that the chairmen of the councils of ministers of all union republics had not approved Estonia's proposals. He presented a number of arguments to justify that. The speaker set the idea of regional cost accounting against integration of the country's national economy.

We called upon R. Otsason, deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the republic's gosplan, and doctor of economic sciences, to comment on this answer as one who took part in the conference held in the offices of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Otsason: Actually, that is not the way it was at all. No one conception and no one republic was discussed at all. Nor indeed was that the purpose of the conference. The representatives of each republic simply set forth how they saw cost accounting within their own republic. Moreover, many of their ideas coincided with ours. For example, on the need to do away with USSR Gosagroprom and USSR Minlegprom, about transfer of administration of construction entirely to the jurisdiction of the union republics, and so on. Neither during the discussion nor in the closing speech by Comrade Ryzhkov were there any judgments made at all. So that I might say with exactly the same success that not a single republic supported the viewpoint of Kazakhstan. It seems to me that the statement by the head of the KaSSR government was incorrect and out of place.

But there are reasons behind that tendentiousness. It became clear back at the 19th All-Union Party Conference that all the republics do not take the same attitude toward the idea of republic cost accounting. This difference in position has in fact been taken note of in an article entitled "From Bureaucratic Centralism to Economic Integration of Sovereign Republics," published in No 15 of the journal KOMMUNIST. I quote: "It is significant that this proposal was vigorously supported at the 19th party conference only by delegates from those regions which are the most highly developed or are relatively developed in terms of the USSR—Belorussia, the Ukraine, the Baltic Republics, a number of autonomous structures and oblasts in the RSFSR, and also by representatives of Moldavia and Georgia. The delegates of republics which have been receiving aid passed over the idea of republic cost accounting in silence. This is no accident, of course, we are looking at two completely definite positions."

I would not want to make a judgment of that silence. It resulted not only from the personal positions of the chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, but also from objective causes. We have some republics that specialize in the present division of labor mainly in the extractive industries, while others specialize in the processing industry to a considerable degree. And because of the altogether wrong price policy that has been in effect for decades, the price level is low in the extractive branches and too many enterprises are operating at a loss. That is why the KaSSR budget for 1989, for example, provides that that republic must receive the country's largest subsidy from the union budget—2.7 billion rubles. And it is natural that to such a republic the transition to cost accounting would seem to be ruinous for it. I say "it seems" because if you get to the essence of cost accounting, then it is advantageous to all republics. But it has to be preceded by restoration of order in price relations. It is no accident that our conception emphasizes that cost accounting is based on equivalent exchange among the republics, which is impossible unless the price mechanism is properly adjusted, which is, of course, the case with restructuring in the economy as a whole. We start, of course, from the premise that this elementary condition of bringing the economic mechanism into conformity will be observed, which is why it has been envisaged by the conception of the price reform in fact.

Unfortunately, the chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers was still more incorrect in his behavior. He tried to argue that Estonia is living at the expense of the other republics, Kazakhstan in particular: he said that Kazakhstan was developing an industry which was even a losing industry for itself, but did so in the interest of the entire union, while in Estonia, which mainly has the processing industry, people are, of course, living better, since their incomes are higher.

It has to be said that this representation is also incorrect. Estonia is among the union republics at the average level. Calculations of the Ministry of Finance show that in the budget for 1989 all the payments of all enterprises in the republic to the union budget amount to 15 million

rubles more than amounts which we receive from the union budget. That is, for all practical purposes there is balance between what we give and what we get. If we make the transition to cost accounting, then in view of certain financial changes that difference could be 140 million rubles. Which means that we are not receiving any sort of extra income at the expense of others, but neither is Estonia one of those republics paying for the subsidy to Kazakhstan. This is probably being charged to the large republics—the RSFSR and the Ukraine.

The journalists at the press conference were informed that Kazakhstan is selling to Estonia 100,000 tons of select wheat—hard and strong varieties, which it could have exported and realized a solid income. These figures remain on the speaker's conscience, since, according to the statistics, in 1987 we did not receive 100,000 tons, but 12,000 tons of quality grain from Kazakhstan, and this is the usual annual level. We have also been receiving from there some 30,000-40,000 tons of fodder wheat. I want to note in this connection that fodder wheat is not being delivered to us as aid to Estonia, but, the other way around, so that with Estonia's help the food supply will improve to those republics which have a shortage of meat and milk. It is well-known that our deliveries to the union stock are covered by mixed feeds delivered from the other republics at a level of only 69 percent. This means that if Kazakhstan is delivering us a small quantity of fodder grain, in actuality it is not going to us, but to Leningrad and other cities and oblasts of the Russian Federation where we send the meat and milk.

Here are the figures simply for sake of comparison: in Estonia 1.1 feed units go into the production of a kilogram of milk, while the figure in Kazakhstan is 2; in the production of a kilogram of pork, we consume 5.4 feed units, and in Kazakhstan it takes 9; a kilogram of beef requires 8.9 feed units for us, but 17.2 in Kazakhstan. If Kazakhstan reached Estonia's level in the cost of milk and beef, it would earn nearly 1 billion rubles more. But that would mean a corresponding decrease in the subsidy from the union budget. I think that the speaker, who was misleading the journalists and the public, fell victim to forces opposing restructuring who are trying at any cost to prevent the spread of the new ideas, including the idea of republic cost accounting, whose soundness was noted by the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the need for whose accomplishment was emphasized by N. Ryzhkov in the 19 November conference in the offices of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Everyone has to realize that our national economy cannot get out of the precrisis state unless we undertake major changes in the economic mechanism. But this requires realistic work with the objective that every work collective, every region—large or small—would have a maximum motivation to improve production efficiency in its own region and in the production of goods necessary to it and to its neighbors. Creating the financial motivation to do that is in fact the point and benefit of regional cost accounting, which by virtue of economic levers is expected to guarantee true integration of the USSR national economy and its rapid development.

Freight Train Derails; No Casualties Reported

LD0301222089 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] On the subject of transportation, unfortunately it is not always possible to speak of successes. Today, not far from Chernaya station on the Golutvin-Ryazan line 22 wagons of a freight train, including two tanks of propane, went off the rails. There was a gas leak. Thanks to prompt measures, environmental pollution was avoided. There were no casualties. The cause of the accident was the breakage of a rail, which had outlived its usefulness, under the effect of low temperature. Traffic on the restored section was resumed today.

Chita Residents Concerned About Milk Shortage

LD0401071489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] At the present time, many residents of Chita are concerned about the milk shortage. As soon as the oblast's farms fulfilled the annual order for the delivery of this produce in mid-November irregularities in the trade occured. Recently, approximately two-thirds of the raw material necessary for fully satisfying the oblast center's needs has been daily arriving at the Chitinskiy combine from livestock units.

The path toward raising the productivity of the milk herd is well known: leasing out the farm units and introducing family and collective contracting there. Unfortunately, livestock units where the livestock workers themselves feel really in charge are very sparse in Zabaykalye. Is this not the main reason for the frequent winter milk shortages?

Health Ministry Warns of Flu 'Pre-Epidemic'

LD0301220889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Attention! Flu! A news conference has been held at the USSR Ministry of Health in connection with the flu epidemic abroad and a worrying situation in our country. The situation in our country is evaluated as pre-epidemic. Thus, at the end of December the number of cases of influenza and respiratory infections was 138.6 per 10,000 of the population. In Gorkiy and Smolensk, the epidemic threshold has been exceeded. A special program of measures to deal with this has been worked out. A great deal, however, depends upon people themselves. One should go into crowded places as little as possible and take prophylactic measures. The joint efforts of doctors and the population will help to cope in the event of misfortune.

New Newspaper Published in Mari ASSR

LD0101193889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1615 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Summary] The newspaper (YAMDELI), meaning be prepared, was published today for the first time. It is directed at young readers in the Gornomariyskiy Rayon of Mari ASSR and is published in their native language.

Zhdanov Radio Station Begins Operation

LD0101141889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] The inhabitants of maritime Zhdanov have heard New Year greetings simultaneously in three languages—Russian, Ukrainian, and Greek. A new town radio station, which will give information every day about news of political, economic, and cultural life and sport and prepare music and literary programs, has gone on the air there for the first time.

Russian Transliteration of Tallinn Amended

PM0301164789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "Remember: 'Tallinn'"]

[Text] Yes indeed, this is how the name of Estonia's capital, the city of Tallinn, will be spelled from 1 January, with two "n's." At the request of the gorispolkom and the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Language and Literature Institute, the republic's supreme soviet presidium effected an amendment to the instructions on the spelling of Estonian proper names. Its essence is that double consonants will be retained in spelling, thus retaining a more accurate phonetic rendition.

Appropriate documents have been forwarded to the country's Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography. As for the city signs and seals and the stationery used by institutions and enterprises, they are all being changed already.

Scientific

Experiments Continue Aboard 'Mir' Station

LD0301162389 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the flight space centre:

The Soviet permanently operating orbital station Mir with Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valery Polyakov aboard continues its space mission.

In the first days of this week the crew members are primarily engaged in astrophysical observations.

On Tuesday the cosmonauts, after calibration and adjustment of the Rozhen equipment developed by Bulgarian specialists, are performing a series of experiments named "Polarizatsiya" to improve methods of studying stellar formations. Using the magnetic spectrometer Mariya, they are conducting another cycle of measurings of flows of high-energy elementary charged particles in near-earth space.

Under the international programme called "Roentgen", it is planned to hold several more observations sessions of the supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud.

Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Jean-Loup Chretien who returned to earth two weeks ago, are undergoing a course of restorative therapy in Zvezdniy City. According to doctors' estimates, the process of readaptation of the Soviet cosmonauts to terrestrial conditions is going smoothly after their one year's mission in space. The French cosmonaut who spent 25 days in space, has practically completed his readaptation period.

Psychologists Profile Ideal Mars Space Crew

LD0101101889 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Soviet psychologists recommend that a crew for a space mission sent to Mars should be all male and limited to six or eight members. The best age is from 35 to 45 years.

This is the conclusion drawn from the experience of long-term orbital flights, including the recent year-long mission of Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov aboard the Mir station.

Specialists hope to launch the first ever interplanetary expedition in the year 2015. The Soviet Union is for making it an international mission.

Designer Comments on New Tu-204 Passenger Plane

LD0301220289 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—"We, designers and pilots, wanted to check the Tu-204 air liner's estimated performance in its maiden flight. Our expectations came true: All instruments and systems operated normally", a TASS correspondent has been told by general designer Aleksey Tupolev, commenting on the new air liner's first 32-minute flight on Monday.

"The airliner will now have flight testing, which is scheduled to be completed late in 1990, and then Tu-204 will be put into service to carry passengers. In the future it is to replace Tu-154 in the main up to 3,500 kilometre long lines. It will account for almost half of the Aeroflot passengers," the designer said.

Characterising the new jet plane, Aleksey Tupolev said it was the firstling of a new generation of Soviet airliners. "In the new airliner everything is different from the Aeroflot's present-day airliners. I am confident that it is up to the world standards by comfort and economic effect", he said.

"All 214 passengers in Tu-204 will sit in confortable arm-chairs—higher than those now used in Aeroflot planes", the designer said. "The tallest passenger will feel comfortable in flight. It will take just a few minutes to unload the luggage from containers".

"Tu-204 will carry 50 passengers more than Tu-154 but it spends 50 per cent less fuel—3 tonnes per hour, this pointing to its high economic effect", said Aleksey Tupolev.

Smallest, Largest Soviet Planes To Fly at Air Show
LD0401103689 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Frunze January 4 TASS—Viktor Dmitriyev, an amateur designer from Soviet Kirghizia, has developed an aircraft which is believed to be the smallest piloted plane in the world.

With wings that have an area of a little more than 1.5 square metres, it weights only 47 kilograms, is three metres long and one metre high. Its minimum speed is 42 kilometres, maximum—130 kilometres per hour. The hourly intake of fuel is about three litres of petrol.

The plane is easy to handle and needs only thirty metres of asphalt, ground, grass or gravel to take of and land.

The desinger, who has developed several mini-planes, maintains that his new aircraft can become a reliable helping hand for geologists, rangers and farmers.

Recently, Dmitriyev was invited to bring his plane to an air show in Le Bourget, France. The tiny flying machine will be shown together with another Soviet creation, the world's largest "Mriya" (Dream) An-225 plane.

Biosphere Commission Formed in Science Academy
LD3012171988 Moscow TASS in English 1652 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov reports:

A permanent commission has been formed under the USSR Academy of Sciences to coordinate all research of the biosphere and ecology. The commission includes leading Soviet researchers in earth science, chemistry, biology, economics and mathematical modelling.

The announcement was made at today's news conference at the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the results of a three-day session of the academy general meeting which ended on Thursday.

The session discussed a draft academic programme of biosphere and ecological research for the period ending in 2015.

While the document is still in the first stage of its development, a total of 50 million roubles has already been allocated for the next two years.

The sum has been distributed among researcher groups on a competitive basis.

The results of the discussion will be taken into account as the draft programme will be revised and new research topics will be added to it.

The programme's ultimate goal is to develop a strategy of rational environment conservation under the conditions of continuing progress of technology.

Mass Production of 'Super TV Antenna' Begins
LD0301133489 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Sumy January 3 TASS—The Soviet Union has started mass production of a super TV antenna "Moscow-global", that is able to transmit TV broadcasts to the most distant places.

The new antenna is linked with the Gorizont TV satellite. Now Soviet missions and correspondents abroad will get a chance to watch all TV programmes from Moscow. Previously only the news programme Vremya was broadcast to other parts of the world.

The global antenna will enable Moscow to receive business data and news reports from all over the world. This will be done automatically and without a relay connection that requires expensive cable channels.

Military

Military Leader Reviews Year's Activities
LD3112175088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1015 GMT 31 Dec 88

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In the pre-New Year edition of our program: "The Soviet Armed Forces—Results of Combat Training," we bring you a conversation with Colonel General Grigoriy Fedotovich Krivosheyev, a deputy chief of the General Staff. [passage omitted]

The year 1988 in the life of the army and fleet. Our correspondent's conversation with Col Gen Krivosheyev began with that issue:

[Begin recording] [Krivosheyev] In the year now ending the Armed Forces engaged actively in operations and combat training and improved their combat readiness.

In addition, a number of major exercises subject to advance notification in accordance with the Stockholm conference of 1986, were conducted.

[Unidentified correspondent] By this you mean the exercises in the south and the Baltic exercises, don't you?

[Krivosheyev] Yes indeed, precisely those exercises. The positive changes in the international situation that have occurred in recent years, the change from the principle of superarmament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense, have introduced qualitatively new elements in military construction and military policy. Let me recall the most important of them: In accordance with the Geneva agreements of 1987 [as heard], the first stage of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan has been implemented. As is known, half of our troops have already been withdrawn. In connection with the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their medium and shorter range missiles coming into force from 1 June 1988, the elimination of those missiles, launchers, and ancillary structures and equipment has been taking place. Up to today, 520 missiles, or 28 percent of the total number, have already been destroyed. Total elimination will be completed by the middle of 1991.

Servicemen of the armed forces also made a certain contribution this year to the implementation of national economic tasks. It is sufficient to say that dozens of motor transport battalions—in which many thousands of servicemen and 30,000 vehicles worked—were formed, just for the transportation of agricultural products, this year's harvest. All together, over 22 million tonnes of agricultural cargo, including 8 million tonnes of grain, were transported by them. I would say that Soviet servicemen participated actively, with great enthusiasm, in implementing the state program to build and reconstruct roads in the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone. Around 20,000 kilometers of roads in 10 oblasts of the Non-Chernozem Zone will be built during the 1988-1995 period by road-building subunits formed specifically for that purpose. Around 7,500 units of equipment of various types have been allocated for this from the resources of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

The USSR Armed Forces have actively participated in overcoming the consequences of accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters in various regions of our country. Around 3,000 units of equipment are now operating in the region of the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Sixty-eight units and establishments of the USSR Ministry of Defense with a total number of around 20,000 men and 7,000 units of equipment, have been brought in to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake on the territory of the Armenian SSR. I must say that the government commission has given the most difficult jobs in that region to the Army.

[Correspondent] I have been in Armenia, and the following part of our program will be about that very subject. I have seen what officers and men are doing there; so, of course, that is very hard and selfless labor.

[Krivosheyev] Yes, I've been there too. We brought in a number of new units there for the quickest possible restoration. Our servicemen also directly participated in eliminating the consequences of the accidents in Arzamas and Sverdlovsk. Military construction units are carrying out a large volume of work in building national economic facilities. And another thing: 43 years have passed already since the conclusion of the Great Patriotic War, but explosive objects are still being unearthed and destroyed by our servicemen. For example, this year around 100,000 pieces of ammunition have been destroyed, and 350 mobile groups and detachments totalling over 2,000 men have been brought in for mine clearing.

[Correspondent] And what lies ahead for our Armed Forces in the new year?

[Krivosheyev] There are great tasks for the Armed Forces in the new year. The Army and Navy will engage in planned operations and combat training, improve their combat readiness, and strengthen combat cooperation with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries.

An important event for the USSR Armed Forces in 1989 will, undoubtedly, be the start of their significant reduction, the decision on which was announced by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly. In the next 2 years the USSR Armed Forces will be reduced by 500,000 men. Conventional arms in the European part of the USSR and on the territory of our European allies will be cut by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft. In this process, the Soviet troops situated in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland [as heard], and Hungary will be reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks.

Six tank divisions will be returned home and disbanded. Assault landing formations and units and a number of others, including assault crossing units, with their arms and combat equipment, will also be withdrawn. All the Soviet divisions remaining on the allies' territory will be reorganized. A significant number of tanks will be withdrawn from them, which will give those formations a purely defensive orientation.

Armed Forces in the Asian part of the USSR will be reduced considerably. By agreement with the Mongolian People's Republic Government, a significant proportion of the Soviet troops situated there will return home. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan will be completed in February 1989. The destruction of medium and shorter range missiles will be continued. All shorter range missiles will be eliminated by the end of 1989.

The Armed Forces will continue their involvement in the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia. Around 50 different construction units and establishments are being formed and sent there to build various facilities.

[Correspondent] What you have said is, more or less, well known to me and our listeners. But here is a question that interests me and, I think, our listeners as well. What will happen to the officers from those units that are subject to reduction or disbandment? Just magine: A senior lieutenant, a captain or a major, aged 28 or 30. Where are they going to go?

[Krivosheyev] The Ministry of Defense is already working seriously on this matter. The officer corps will mainly be cut by dismissing those who have served the term specified in the USSR Law on Universal Military Service and reached the age limits for active military service, as well as those who have the right to a pension, and other organizational measures. This will, of course, require a considerable displacement of officers. The process will be conducted according to a plan, under the supervision of the General Staff, the Main Cadres Directorate of the Ministry of Defense and the Main Staffs of the branches of the Armed Forces. There will be cuts in the number of officers in all branches of the Armed Forces in the necessary proportions, proceeding from the requirements of the USSR Armed Forces.

[Correspondent] Grigoriy Fedotovich, you are a colonel general. Did you serve as a private in the army?

[Krivosheyev] I entered the service in 1949 as a soldier in the town of Biysk.

[Correspondent] And you probably did guard duty?

[Krivosheyev] I did guard duty like all soldiers.

[Correspondent] Well that is understandable, you were young then. That is why I would like to remind you that on 31 December there are tens of thousands of young men—soldiers, officers, and sailors—going on guard duty. And while we civilians and you military men in your free time will be seeing in the New Year, these people will be standing guard in their shearling coats at launching sites and protecting the borders. What would you like to wish them on New Year's Eve?

[Krivosheyev] I'd like to take this opportunity of wishing a Happy New Year to the Army and Navy servicemen who are reliably standing guard over the Soviet people's peaceful labor and the gains of Great October. Happy New Year also to Soviet Armed Forces veterans, participants in the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars, internationalist servicemen, workers, and office staff of the Soviet Army and Navy. Dear comrades, may your wishes come true in the new year; may it be a year of stable peace, new successes, and changes for the better! May it be a rich, joyful, and happy year! [end recording]